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THE APOSTOLIC
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*THEIR DIVERSITY AND UNITY IN LIFE
AND DOCTRINE.*

BY

GOTTHARD VICTOR LECHLER, D.D.,

ORDINARY PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, PRIVY ECCLESIASTICAL COUNSELLOR IN LEIPZIG.

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APOSTOLIC DOCTRINE.



SECOND DOCTRINAL PART.

GRACE AND SALVATION.

TO the Apostle Paul the gospel is the proclamation of the grace of God bestowed on the sinner, and of the salvation designed for him (Acts xx. 14: τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ; xiii. 26: ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης). It was grace that he himself had undeservedly experienced; to the grace of God he owed all the success of his apostolic work (1 Cor. xv. 10). The glad tidings of grace and salvation which he proclaimed centred round the person of Jesus and His atonement. The apostle has this consciousness: "I serve God in *the gospel of His Son*," Rom. i. 9; the τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ is not the genitive *subjecti* but *objecti*, giving not the author, but the object of the gospel: on this point expositors are almost unanimous.

FIRST PART.

JESUS CHRIST AND REDEMPTION.

In a central passage, Paul characterizes the apostolic calling as the ministry of reconciliation (*ἡ διακονία τῆς καταλλαγῆς*, 2 Cor. v. 18), which consists partly in the preaching of the reconciliation effected, partly in exhortation and entreaty in God and Christ's stead, "Be ye reconciled to God" (ver. 19, etc.). This preaching comprehends both, not only the person of the Mediator Jesus Christ, but also the work of His redemption.

I. JESUS CHRIST.

Paul writes to the Galatians, i. 16: "It pleased God to reveal His Son in me, that I might preach Him among the heathen." Hence he determined (*ἔκρινα*) not to know anything but Jesus Christ (1 Cor. ii. 2); in other words, the person of Christ, the crucified Redeemer, was the sole subject of his preaching. This is further elucidated by his declaration in 2 Cor. iv. 4 and 6: "The god of the world hath blinded the eyes of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them; for God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." Paul here declares that the glory of God shines in the face of Christ (*ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐν προ-*

σώπῳ Χριστοῦ); this divine light which shines in the face of Christ as the image of God (ὅς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ, Col. i. 15) is not perceived by all men, but on the contrary, is hidden and invisible to many; those alone into whose heart God has put light are able to see that divine light in the face of Christ. The servants of Christ on whom this illumination is bestowed should help others to it, that the perception of the divine glory in Christ may become clear to them also (πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐν προσ. Χρ.). Although in ver. 6 the apostle speaks inclusively, yet his profound and beautifully clothed thought gives the strong impression that his own experience is immediately in his mind; on the one hand, the blindness in which he himself had formerly been involved, so that he completely misapprehended the divine light in the person of Jesus; on the other hand, the illumination which through the efficacy of God's almighty grace had opened his eyes to the glory of Christ. If we assume that Paul's thoughts were chiefly occupied with himself and his own conversion, we are reminded involuntarily of the light that shone suddenly round him on the way to Damascus, when Jesus appeared to him; it is possible that this very splendour of light was the occasion that led the apostle here to illustrate the divine glory by the image of light. In any case, here as in Gal. i. 16, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in whom the glory of the Father is revealed, is presented as the centre and principal object of the gospel.

In calling Christ the image of God, the Son of God, the perception of *God* is presupposed. Paul addresses himself to readers who are now believers, even if formerly heathen. He speaks only inci-

dentally of the *nature of God*, and in such a way as to show clearly that he takes for granted the doctrine of God given in the revelation of the Old Testament. The God of Israel is the *one* living God, holy and supramundane, the almighty Creator and Lord of all the earth; this is the fundamental truth of the Old Testament on which, in Paul's view, everything rests. God is one (*εἷς ὁ θεός*, Rom. iii. 30; Gal. iii. 20), the so-called gods are nothing (1 Cor. viii. 4-6; Gal. iv. 8). He is eternal and unchangeable (Rom. i. 20); the living One (2 Cor. iii. 3); invisible (Rom. i. 20). But He is the Creator of all things (1 Cor. viii. 6: *ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα*; Rom. i. 25; Eph. iii. 9), the ruler, almighty (Rom. iv. 17, ix. 8, 21) and wise (xi. 33, etc.), just and impartial (Rom. ii. 6, etc.; Gal. vi. 7, etc.; Eph. vi. 9). By virtue of His truth (Rom. iii. 4) His promise is absolute and His faithfulness everlasting (Rom. iii. 3, ix. 9; 1 Cor. i. 9, x. 13); but above all He is rich in love, grace, and forbearance (Rom. ii. 4, v. 5; 2 Cor. xiii. 11, i. 3). Again we observe that the apostle comes to speak of the above-named attributes of God only in the course of developing and expounding other doctrines, from which circumstance each of these utterances gains a special reference, a peculiar life and force. These truths, in Paul's estimation, appear not as worn-out coins, but fresh from the mint, evidences of a living faith, clearly imprinted.

The *one* true and living God has revealed Himself in the mission of Jesus Christ as the Messiah and Lord. This fundamental truth of the gospel is also attached to the Old Testament revelation, especially to the Messianic promise. In the Pauline discourses of the Acts (see *ante*, p. 319, etc.) and in

the Thessalonian Epistles, as well as in those which are the fruit of a riper experience, the preaching of Jesus as the Messiah who has appeared and been accredited by God, of the *Lord* to whom believers filled with gratitude and confidence lift their eyes in adoration (believers are *ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου*, 1 Cor. i. 2), is the centre of his testimony and of all his teaching. When in the beginning of his Epistles, *c.g.* Rom. i. 1, Phil. i. 1, Paul calls himself the servant of Jesus Christ (*δοῦλος*), he makes an indirect confession that Christ is the Lord in whom he believes, and to whom he consecrates his life and strength. But the fundamental confession of the believing Christian, which can only be apprehended and expressed by the power of the Holy Ghost, is simply this: "Jesus is the Lord" (*κύριος Ἰησοῦς*, 1 Cor. xii. 3). In the position which Jesus occupies as "Lord," "the Lord of glory," 1 Cor. ii. 8, lies all His Messianic dignity, His sovereignty in the kingdom of God, His authority to command and to require moral obedience which proceeds from the fear of God.

The apostle, however, confesses Jesus not only as the Lord possessing Messianic dignity and power, but also as the *Son of God*.

Jesus is the *Son of God*. This simple truth, when it had become a certainty for Paul by the revelation near Damascus, was by him so earnestly and stedfastly maintained, so faithfully did he turn it to account, that it became the germ of an enlightened knowledge of the Godhead of Christ, not for Himself alone, but for the Church of Christ in every age. In presenting this developed apprehension of Christ according to His divine nature, we must, for the sake

of critical doubts, strictly observe the distinction between the earlier and later Epistles, and give a firm and sure basis to the interpretation, instead of a simple statement of the matter.

In his principal Epistles, where the authorship is undisputed, Paul lays so great stress on the truth that Jesus is the Son of God, that his single utterances to the same effect acquire additional weight. When in Gal. i. 16 the apostle says: "God has revealed his Son in me," without doubt more meaning attaches to τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ than most expositors allow, for they pass lightly over the fact that by this very revelation Paul was brought to the knowledge of Jesus as He is in truth, and taught to recognise Him (not merely as the Messiah, but) as the Son of God.¹ In his Epistle to the Romans the apostle lays special stress on that which is here but indicated, using the words: ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας. Leaving the πέμψας for a time out of account, it is clear how close a community of nature between Jesus and God the Father is implied by the reflexive pronoun, albeit the simple *Pronomen personale* τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, which might stand here as well as in Gal. i. 16, has an important meaning. Still stronger is the declaration in Rom. viii. 32: ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο. If we look at the way in which ἴδιος is elsewhere employed by Paul, we cannot help perceiving a special significance in its use here, which is also clearly shown by the immediate context of the passage. If this be so, the apostle asserts a close, exclusive community of essence between Jesus and

¹ No one has brought this out so well and forcibly as Baur himself (*Paulus*, p. 513, 2nd ed. ii. 133, etc.), although we are unable to accept his further conclusions (p. 135, etc.) as they stand.

God the Father; in other words, he ascribes to Jesus not merely a theocratic dignity, but the metaphysical sonship of God. Here belongs also the more difficult passage (Rom. i. 4), where in two parallel utterances respecting His person (ver. 3, etc.) Jesus is called the Son of God, viz. (a) τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ κατὰ σάρκα; (b) τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν. There is no doubt that σάρξ and πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης are partly placed in opposition one to another, and partly as the two sides of His nature closely joined together in Christ. Hence πνεῦμα must belong *essentially* to Christ and dwell in *Him*, and can neither be applied to the spirit of God in the prophets who foretold the Messiah, nor to the Holy Spirit poured out upon the disciples of Jesus, nor to the agency of the Holy Spirit in Christ (Godet, *Comm.* translated into German, 1881, p. 86). When the πνεῦμα of Christ is more closely defined by the added ἁγιωσύνης as the "spirit of holiness," the parallelism with σάρξ, which can certainly not be understood in a moral sense here, does not in our opinion admit of a moral interpretation, as proposed by van Hengel, *Interpretatio Ep. Pauli ad Rom. i.* 1854, p. 47, *quatenus sanctitatis studio ducebatur*; but the words rather depict the inner higher element of His personality, as the lower side of His nature is expressed by σάρξ. By virtue of the former side of His personality Christ is Spirit, holy, exalted Spirit. That they refer to the mere human spirit, however pure (Meyer, *Comm.* 2nd ed. 1854), we cannot admit, on account of the exalted epithet, and for the very reason that the sonship of God, which from the above passages we must assume to include essence,

is thus proved (υίου θεοῦ—κατὰ πν. ἄγ.). Under one aspect Christ is σάρξ, under another πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, holy exalted Spirit, and as very Spirit the Son of God (comp. Rückert, *Comm.* 2nd ed.; Raebiger, *de christologia paulina*, 1852, p. 18, etc.; Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 291, etc.). Paul's expression, that Jesus is ὀρισθεὶς υἱὸς θεοῦ — ἐξ ἀναστασ. νεκρῶν, according to the usage of ὀρίζω elsewhere, can only mean that He has been constituted the Son of God (*constitutus est filius Dei*), namely, for us, not in Himself, whereby ὀρίζειν in reality approaches the sense to certify, to prove (comp. Godet, *Comm.* p. 84, etc.). The reference of this passage to the resurrection of Christ is touched upon below, p. 51.

Intimately connected with the essential divine sonship of Jesus is Paul's testimony that He is *the image of God* (2 Cor. iv. 4: ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ), so that those who are not blinded may see the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ (*ibid.* v. 6: ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ). This from the tense (ὅς ἐστιν) refers to the present, therefore to the historical, now exalted Christ; yet the clause: ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ, seems at the same time to have a wider range, and to extend to the *prehistorical existence* of the Redeemer, as even Zeller, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1842, p. 59, admits.

The older, undisputed Epistles of the apostle bear no little testimony to this effect. When in Rom. viii. 3 Paul says God *sent* (πέμψας) His Son, and in Gal. iv. 4: ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, this assertion unquestionably presupposes that the Son already existed, and was with God before He came into the world, for the connection incontestably proves that the "sending" refers to an entrance into

the visible world, into earthly life.¹ The Redeemer is here regarded as a *person* before He became man, and was constituted the Son of God before He was born on the earth (Gal. iv. 4: *γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός*). This idea plainly lies in the question in Rom. x. 6: *τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν*, hitherto but little considered in this respect. From the connection it refers neither to the ascension nor to the sitting at the right hand of God (Reiche, Grimm, Godet, *Comm.* translated into German, ii. p. 176, etc.), but to the incarnation of Christ (de Wette, Meyer, Weiss, Lorenz, *ante*, p. 115, etc.). The expression unmistakeably implies that Christ was in heaven before His incarnation, and as a person could, as it were, be brought down. Moreover, the words of 2 Cor. viii. 9 refer to the prehistoric existence of Christ. When Paul—to stir up the Corinthians to help the Church in Jerusalem—here reminds them that Jesus *δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσε πλούσιος ὢν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ πλουτήσητε*, he plainly has in view a pre-earthly state of Christ when He was rich in divine fulness. This follows from the connection with what goes before; for, to use the words of Zeller (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1842, p. 59, etc.): “How could the example of Christ incite the Corinthians to charity unless the meaning is, that the Corinthians should renounce their riches for the sake of their fellow-Christians, just as Christ for their sakes had renounced His?” It also follows from the connection that the condition of Christ's

¹ Comp. Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 295. Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 136, etc.; Rich. Schmidt, *paulinische Christologie*, 1870, p. 143, etc.; Godet, *Comm.* (translated into German) ii. p. 82; Lorenz, *Lehrsystem*, p. 111.

poverty and that of His being rich were not simultaneous, but must be regarded as successive. If, therefore, His earthly existence be a *πτωχεύειν*, it must have been preceded by a state of *πλούσιον εἶναι*. Taking the words more exactly, it is plain that the two members are parallel, *ἐπτώχευσε πλούσιος ὢν* and *ἵνα ὑμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ πλουτήσητε*. The *πτωχεύειν* answers to the *πλουτεῖν* as its opposite. Now both verbs, in accordance with the use of the *present* tense, denote a being, a state; not a becoming, a transition; but the *aorist* in verbs of this kind expresses just the beginning of the state (comp. Holsten, *zum Ev. des Paulus und des Petrus*, p. 437, note); and since it is clear that *πλουτήσητε* in the object-clause means, ye shall *become* rich through His poverty, the corresponding *ἐπτώχευσε* can only be understood as a state of earthly poverty now first begun, while *πλούσιος ὢν* points correspondingly to a condition of riches in heavenly glory. It is only by a misapprehension of the connection that the states of Christ's poverty and riches can be regarded as simultaneous, the former being understood corporeally, the latter spiritually (Baur, *Paulus*, 2nd ed. p. 267; Köstlin, *Lehrbegriff des Evang. Joh.* p. 310, note; Beyschlag, *Christologie des N. T.* 1868, p. 237). An examination of the words, as well as of the connection, leads us to the conclusion that Christ, before entering on His poor human life, *i.e.* in His pre-human existence, was rich; and by such riches we can only understand fulness of divine life and divine glory. Later expositors almost all agree in this explanation, *e.g.* Rückert, de Wette, Meyer; comp. Neander, *ante*, ii. 801; Raebiger, *Christol. Paul.* p. 38, etc.; Ernesti, *vom Ursprung der Sünde nach paulin. Lehrgehalt*, i.

1855, p. 243, etc.; Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 297; R. Schmidt, *paulin. Christologie*, p. 143, etc.; Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 138, etc. Accordingly, a prehistorical existence of the Redeemer is implied here, a real personal life capable of action, since His incarnation as a sacrificing renunciation of self is used as a type. Further, Paul refers to a personal activity of Christ in Old Testament revelation, in leading Israel (1 Cor. x. 4), explaining that the rock giving forth water in the journey through the desert which continually refreshed the fainting people was Christ (*ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός*). The apostle desires to warn his readers against spiritual security and self-confidence, by setting before them the fact that the Israelites in their exodus from Egypt and journey through the wilderness had received manifestations of divine grace like the redeemed of Christ, and yet many, even the most of them, were destroyed. In this connection, he says, Christ was the rock that gave them drink miraculously. Thus the idea is unmistakably implied that it was Christ invisible and yet actual who had been the agent, *i.e.* that Christ pre-existed before His historical appearance, and was acting as mediator of the revelation of God. This idea appears to Holsten so strange (*das Ev. des Paulus*, p. 324, note), and so contrary in principle to the apostle's view of salvation, that he is inclined to pronounce the words (ver. 4b) *ἔπινον γὰρ—Χριστός* spurious, and interpolated in the spirit of the Epistle of Barnabas. Compare on the other side the thoughtful discussion of R. Schmidt, *paulin. Christologie*, p. 145, etc.; Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 143; but especially Heinrici, 1 *Kor.* p. 262, etc., with whom Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 298, agrees.

The apostle soars still higher in thought, when in 1 Cor. viii. 6 he says : εἰς κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ. The τὰ πάντα, on account of the definite article being used, as well as from the connection, must refer to all existence, to the universe : the world came into existence through *Christ*. The expression implies not only a pre-human existence of the Redeemer, but also that He existed before the world was formed, from eternity, inasmuch as He is the mediator, the instrument (δι' οὗ) of the world's creation, while God is the primeval cause of all things (ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα). That this usual explanation of the words, as referring to the creation of the world, is correct, has been well shown by Zeller (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1842, p. 56, etc.; comp. 1845, p. 91, etc.). When Dr. Baur (*Paulus*, 2nd ed. ii. p. 264, etc.), reasserting his former view that the reference here is only to redemption and the relation towards the Church (*Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit*, i. p. 81, etc.), defends it mainly on the ground that the words : τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ — διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, in 2 Cor. v. 18, refer only to redemption and reconciliation, we may answer that this belongs to the category of the abuse of parallels ; and that each passage must be explained independently, not from other passages which though allied are not identical. The interpretation in question has been justly rejected by all expositors as radically opposed to the use of language and to the context ; Baur himself, *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed. 1860, p. 313, note, has to some extent taken back his interpretation.¹ Hence the sense is, that the Redeemer was eternal, not only

¹ Comp. Hase, *Tüb. Schule*, p. 17.

before His incarnation, but also before the world and time, and that the creation of the world, of which God is the first, absolute Cause, was accomplished by Christ as the mediator of the divine work.¹ If we take the collective testimonies of the older Epistles, which we have already considered, we have the following statements respecting the person of Christ on His divine side: He is the Son of God exclusively and essentially, and as such stands in the closest unity of substance with God the Father, whose image He is. Before He became man, even before the world was, He existed (pre-existed), not as an impersonal quality or idea in God, but as a personality capable of an act such as self-denying entrance into poor, finite life. He is not a creature of God; but, on the contrary, the creation of all that exists is mediated by Him as the eternal instrument of divine revelation.

We now pass to the later Epistles of the apostle,

¹ Recent expositors and elaborators of Pauline doctrine unanimously admit that this is the verbal sense and range of thought, e.g. R. Schmidt, *paulin. Christologie*, p. 145, etc.; Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 144, etc.; Heinrici, *1 Kor.* p. 228, etc.; comp. Beyschlag, *N. T. Christol.* p. 228; Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 297. Holsten alone, *das Ev. des Paulus*, p. 309, etc., declares this to be a false understanding of Pauline thought. He himself presses the *κύριος*, and concludes from it that Christ is regarded only as mediator, as ruler, not of believers alone, but of the universe. But the limitation of the *δι' οὗ* to the supremacy of Christ is not due to *κύριος*; it is introduced rather than fairly brought out. *δι' οὗ*, etc., ver. 6b, is just as little to be regarded as merely explanatory of the *κύριος*, as the *ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα*, etc., can be supposed to be simply explanatory of *θεός*; according to the words and the parallelism, it is rather to be taken in the sense: By Christ the universe was created, having proceeded out of God as the absolute ground of all existence; and as God is the ultimate aim of the redeemed, so they are what they are through Christ.

whose authenticity has been disputed by modern criticism. It will appear that nothing is to be found essentially different from the above result, but a further development and extension of the same ideas.

Col. i. 15 is nearly allied to 2 Cor. iv. 4: Christ is the image of the invisible God, *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*. It is true that *εἰκὼν* has not the article, which would at once make it clear that Christ is the image of God in a sense quite peculiar; but the whole connection leads inevitably to the idea that *an* image is not meant, but *the* image of God, the exclusive and fully adequate image of God. Accordingly the meaning unquestionably is, that the whole nature of God is seen in Christ (not this or that attribute which is invisible in God). Thus far the question is certainly of "the whole Christ," *i.e.* of Christ who became man and is now exalted on high, and not merely of the divine nature of Christ, for Paul says *ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν*, not *ὃς ἦν*; and only the human Christ is visible, the image of the invisible. But another question still remains, whether (as Schleiermacher maintained, "Abh. über Kol. i. 15–20," *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1832, p. 497, etc.) what follows in the same connection is also to be understood of the whole Christ, *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*. He is the first-born of every creature. Paul here defines the relation of Christ to the creation, to the *world*, as formerly His relation to *God*, and ascribes to Christ not merely the first place and dignity, the decided pre-eminence over every creature, thus placing Him in *the same* rank with created beings though at their head, and making Him in fact a *κτίσις*, the first among all, however (*πάσ. κτίσ.*

gen. part. ; so Usteri, *ante*, p. 315, following the Arians ; Schwegler, *ante*, ii. 290 ; Baur, *N. T. Theol.* p. 257). But he attributes to Christ an existence *before* every creature (πάσ. κτίσεως, gen. comparat. in relation to πρωτοτ., as John i. 15 : πρώτός μου), which is plainly implied in πρὸ πάντων, ver. 17 ; besides which we must take into account the weighty expression πρωτότοκος as distinguished from πρωτόκτιστος, which is asserted of the Logos by the Alexandrians. Paul therefore attributes to Christ, as the first-born, not merely pre-eminence in dignity above all created beings, not merely existence before every creature in respect of time, but also an origin to be distinguished from all κτίσις, inasmuch as He was not created but born, begotten of the essence of God : οὐχ ὡς ἀδελφὴν ἔχων τὴν κτίσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως γεννηθείς, as Theodoret strikingly puts it. Inasmuch, therefore, as ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ refers to the Lord who was made man and exalted on high, and the clause in question is in immediate connection with it, we must certainly assume that Paul sets out from the manifested Christ ; but it is equally clear from πρωτότοκος and the following clauses that attention is chiefly directed to the divine and eternal in the person of the Redeemer ; for only in this character, and not as the man Christ, can eternal generation from the Father and the act of creation be predicted of Him, as de Wette concedes in respect at least of ver. 16 ; while Meyer's interpretation of it as referring to the whole Christ is somewhat obscure and artificial. In the following context the leading clause, "He is the first-born of every creature," is unfolded in separate subordinate clauses, ver. 16 : ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ

πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα — τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται; ver. 17: καὶ αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε. That the creation of the universe, of the entire nature- and spirit-world, is actually referred to here, is shown too clearly by the thrice-repeated words τὰ πάντα, and the more exact characterization of this *all* according to its leading divisions, to be called in question by any impartial interpretation. Hence the apostle says — 1st, That Christ is *before* all (ver. 17: αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων), *i.e.* His existence precedes in time all that is outside God; 2nd, All was created *through Him* (ver. 16: τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἔκτισται), as the mediator, the instrument of revelation; similarly, but not synonymously, ἐν αὐτῷ . . . ἐκτίσθη, the act of creation centred in His person, it took place in the union of the Father with Him; 3rd, The universe consists in Him, the preservation and continued consistence of all things rest in Him; 4th, All has in Him its object, its aim: εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται. When Baur, *Paulus*, 2nd ed. ii. p. 9, maintains that to Christ “as the creative principle of all that exists” is here ascribed “absolute pre-existence,” he oversteps the limits thoughtfully laid down by the apostle. For the conception, “creative principle of all that exists,” goes decidedly beyond the apostolic statement: ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα. We must first note the circumstance that the passive form only is employed in the passage, while the active form, “He created,” is avoided, apparently by design. Moreover, the prepositions πρὸ, διά, εἰς, ἐν, though pointing to the conceptions of

existence before the world, of the instrument of divine creation, of the aim, and, as it were, the place of creation (*ἐν αὐτῷ*), by no means contain the notion of the first cause and principle of creation, which the apostle clearly denotes by *ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα*, *c.g.* in 1 Cor. viii. 6, when he wishes to express this meaning, but limits it to God the Father. Let us go on to ver. 19: *ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησε πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι*. With almost all recent expositors,¹ we take *ὁ θεός* as the subject to *εὐδόκησε*: it pleased God that in Him should all fulness dwell. But what is the *πλήρωμα*? According to many expositors, the Church, *viz.* (Schleiermacher) all the fulness of Jews and Gentiles united in the kingdom of the Son; *comp.* Rom. xi. 12, 25; Eph. i. 23. But neither the wording nor the connection of the passage allows this. It must be explained by itself; neither by another Pauline passage nor yet by a Gnostic system.² Keep-

¹ Hofmann alone (*Schrijfbeweis*, ii. 1, p. 242, etc.) disputes the right to supply *ὁ θεός* as the subject, because in ver. 15, etc., *all things* are assigned to Christ alone, and the name of God is, intentionally as it were, avoided. But in ver. 15, Christ is *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*, and the words *ἐκτίσθη* — *ἐκτισται* refer plainly enough to *God* as Creator. Besides, it appears to us highly venturesome to take Christ Himself as the subject of *εὐδόκησε*: “Christ would have all fulness to dwell in Him;” first, because of the language, inasmuch as the reference of the pronouns in ver. 20: *αὐτοῦ*, *αὐτός*, to Christ is always harsh; second, in point of fact, inasmuch as Christ would thus be exclusively named as the ultimate principle and aim of the work of redemption, contrary to every other representation given by Paul; *comp.* R. Schmidt, *paulinische Christologie*, p. 183.

² It is easy to answer the question, whether it is not safer and more in accordance with historical truth to derive many Gnostic thoughts and technical terms from New Testament ideas, supposing Gnosticism to have given these latter a speculative turn, than to explain certain passages of the New Testament, or at least isolated Biblical expressions, by Gnosticism. It is in itself highly probable

ing to the passage itself, it is clear that *πλήρωμα* denotes fulness, perfection, either absolutely or supplied from the subject *θεός* which is presupposed. It denotes therefore the whole fulness of divine essence and life that dwells in Christ. Let us compare the other passage, Col. ii. 9 : 'Εν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς. The *πλήρωμα*, left undefined in the former passage, is here expressly declared to be the whole fulness of divine being ; *θεότης* signifies God's being, the divine nature ; but since Paul is elsewhere in the habit of saying *πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ*, it must be by design that he here expresses himself differently ; as Bengel remarks, he puts *vocabulum abstractum significantissimum* in order to bear full and forcible testimony to the fact that *quidquid inest divinitati* dwells in Christ. And, in fact, how can the Godhead of Christ be more plainly and fully expressed than by the words : " In

that, since Gnosticism had already begun to show life and activity during the time of the apostle, Paul may have made use of certain expressions that had come into vogue, as a means of assisting the apprehension of his readers. But since there are no historical facts to indicate that a definite terminology of this kind prevailed so early, apart from the apostolic Epistles and certain words which they have in common with later Gnostic systems, or the systems with them ; since, on the contrary, it is an established fact that the Gnostics of the second century made use of New Testament writings (the Valentinians, for example, used the Gospel of John), it follows that that part of the Gnostic terminology which Gnosticism has in common with the New Testament may, with far more historical probability, be derived from the apostolic writings than *vice versa*. Yet, according to the *Refutatio heresium* of Hippolytus, vi. 30 f. p. 384, ed. Duncker, 1859, Valentine and his school not only used the Epistle to the Ephesians, but also quoted it formally as *γραφή*. In Baur's attempted explanation (*ante*, p. 425, etc.) there can neither be found a correct picture of the Gnostic ideas in question, nor the true sense of the New Testament passage, but only an obscure mixture of Biblical truth with Gnostic speculation.

Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" ? In opposition to Meyer's assertion, that although *πλήρωμα* is here (ii. 9) used in a metaphysical sense of the *divina essentia*, yet the same word is in i. 19 to be understood as applying to divine gifts, to the *divina gratia* (*Comm.* 2nd ed. p. 196, etc.), we may remark (1) that we have no reason for limiting i. 19 to fulness of *grace*, for the historical *εὐδόκησε* does not necessarily imply this ; (2) that it is customary with Paul to regard these two, grace in its moral-religious sense and the real essence, not separately, but united ; the latter remark is rightly made by Ernesti, *Ursprung der Sünde*, p. 220, etc. The indwelling of God in Christ, *κατοικεῖν*, is more definitely described by Paul after his manner by *σωματικῶς*, a word that, in the unanimous opinion of modern expositors, means neither actually (*realiter*, the opposite of *umbraliter*) nor essentially (*essentialiter*), but simply *corporaliter*, bodily, corporeally, an expression which refers here only to the glorified body of the exalted Redeemer (Bähr, *Comm.* p. 165, etc.; de Wette, Meyer). We have therefore in Col. i. 15, etc., ii. 19, two positions : first, Christ is the image of the invisible God, the fulness of divine essence, in whom divine life dwells visibly and bodily ; second, He existed before the world, all things were created by Him and consist in Him. The first position is a more exact definition of the words in 2 Cor. iv. 4 : " Christ is the image of God," and supplies a fuller explanation of them, in consequence of errorists having appeared. The second position is contained in germ in the statement of 1 Cor. viii. 6 : " All things are by Jesus Christ," and is more fully developed

in the Epistle to the Colossians for the same reason.¹

Corresponding to the evidence of 2 Cor. viii. 9, the passage Phil. ii. 5–11 contains an important contribution to the knowledge of the divine dignity of Christ. In order to incite his readers to humble, ministering, self-denying love to their neighbour, he sets before them the example of Jesus, who occupied a position so exalted, and stooped to so low a depth of humiliation: ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν — καὶ ἑταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος. Here we have the distinction of a twofold state belonging to Christ at different times. In both states attention is directed to the *mind*. Ver. 6 describes the former condition of Christ and His mind in it. This state consisted in being in the form of God, living in a divine form of existence. His mind in this state was such that “He thought it not robbery to be equal with God.” According to the whole context the latter must have the general sense, He did not seek His own, His own honour or enjoyment; comp. vv. 3, 4. The

¹ This christological passage does not lead us to doubt the genuineness of the Epistle to the Colossians. Baur himself goes so far as to admit that some indications of a similar kind are to be found even in those Epistles acknowledged by him as the apostle's; only they are mere indications and are never so prominently put forth as here, where absolute, pre-mundane existence is the prevailing idea (*Paulus*, 2nd ed. ii. 12, 35, 43). But this distinction, which, moreover, loses some of its importance after the above explanations, is certainly not of a kind to justify us in objecting to an Epistle. Is anything else to be expected in a series of letters from one man, than that the same thoughts should at one time be dimly indicated, delineated in hasty sketches; and at another time be more fully explained and illustrated, being differently stated and applied according to the need of the readers?

question is, What is the *ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο*, and what *εἶναι ἴσα θεῶ*? Is the latter merely synonymous with *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*, or is it essentially different? As far as the words are concerned, *ἴσα θεῶ* appears to be more than *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ*, the latter merely designating the form of appearance, the mode of existence, while *ἴσος* denotes complete similarity of essence. *Ἀρπαγμὸν οὐχ ἠγήσατο* should be translated literally, since the active signification of *ἀρπαγμός* = *rapiendi actus*, is indubitable; He did not count it as a robbery, the object of an attempted robbery, to be equal with God, *i.e.* He would not seize upon it, did not think of claiming it. If this be the sense of the latter expression, *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῶ* must be something not possessed by Christ while He was *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπῆρχεν*. But what was this? The connection with what goes before, ver. 3, etc., where the apostle specially warns against the seeking of one's own honour, as well as with what follows, ver. 9, etc., where Christ is spoken of in His exalted glory as an object for the worship of all creatures, leads to the idea that divine honour and worship are mainly implied in *ἴσα θεῶ*.¹ Hence

¹ This explanation, which in our opinion is the only correct one, is implied in Schrader, *Der Apostel Paulus*, vol. v. p. 215, and is more fully elaborated and reasoned out in the treatise by Stein, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 1837, p. 165, and particularly p. 174, etc. More recently Ernesti, *Stud. und Krit.* 1848, p. 558, etc., comp. pp. 851, 595, etc., *vom Ursprung der Sünde*, pp. 243, etc., has given the same interpretation and established it more fully, with this peculiarity, however, that he finds an allusion to Gen. iii. of which there is no indication in the passage itself, nor would it result in any essential gain to the interpretation. Formerly Rübiger, *ante*, pp. 76, etc., 60, 82, etc., and Messner, *Lehre der Apostel*, p. 233, etc., agreed with us in the main; more recently R. Schmidt, *paulin. Christologie*, p. 166, etc.; Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 149; Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 430, note 5.

we have the following positions: first, Christ was in the form of God before He became man, in a divine form of being; for it has been justly asserted by Usteri, Meyer, R. Schmidt, *ante*, p. 163, etc., and others, that ver. 6 has reference not to the human life of Jesus, His visible appearance (de Wette, Beyschlag), but to the prehistorical existence of the Redeemer, and that the subject-proper is here the pre-existing Christ; second, He was not equal to God in respect of power, honour, and worship; third, He had not capriciously and selfishly striven after equality with God. There now follows a fourth position: on the contrary, in becoming man, He freely renounced His divine form.

The *historical state* of Christ is discussed in ver. 7, etc. The transition from the earlier to the later state was the result of a free act of Christ (*ἐκένωσε*), represented as to its nature as an *ἑαυτὸν κενοῦν*, to divest oneself or to renounce a fulness, a possession, which leads us involuntarily to think of the *πλήρωμα*, Col. i. 19, ii. 9; the *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε* corresponds to the *ἐπτώχευσε*, 2 Cor. viii. 9. The *κενοῦν* is, however, only *one* side of the act, the negative; and this presupposes a positive side, expressive of the mode and manner, the character of the new state, which latter is described in a threefold way by *μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος* and *σχήματι εὔρεθεις ὡς ἄνθρωπος*. The series appears to be an anticlimax, so that *μορφὴ δούλου* is put first by way of bold antithesis to *μορφὴ θεοῦ*. It is a striking circumstance here that the human existence and life of Christ are described only by such expressions as form, bearing, likeness, on which account Baur has asserted that the sense of the passage implies that

Christ's humanity was not actual and real, but only apparent, as Docetism teaches, *vide N. T. Theol.* p. 269. But if we keep in view the entire context we must reject this hypothesis. If *μορφὴ δούλου, ὁμοίωμα ἀνθρώπων* be docetically understood, the *μορφὴ θεοῦ* must ultimately be regarded as mere semblance, that is to say, Docetism would be transformed into Ebionism. The expressions *σχῆμα, ὁμοίωμα*, appear to be chosen with the view that the personality, originally and of itself divine, should even in its human life and existence be distinctly recognised as such.

The *mind* of Christ in His human state is described in the words: *ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος — σταυροῦ*. In this state He voluntarily submitted to humiliation, and of His own free will became obedient to the death of the cross. But from this state He was again raised up to a divine and glorious state, a transition, however, which was not accomplished by His own act, but by the act of *God* (*ὁ θεὸς ὑπερύψωσε*, which, contrary to Ernesti, we understand of the heavenly exaltation of Jesus). Because He humbled Himself, therefore God hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name, a title to the honour and worship of every creature.¹

The strongest evidence contained in the later Epistles, particularly in those to the Philippians and

¹ Baur's unsuccessful attempt to employ Gnosticism for the elucidation of this passage, and to explain it from the system of Valentinus, has, in our opinion, been convincingly refuted, not only by Ernesti in the treatise already quoted, but also by Rübiger, *ante*, comp. Meyer, *Comm. Phil.* p. 61, and others. The difference between the Pauline and the Valentinian idea is incomparably greater and deeper than the similarity sought after by Baur. If the alleged Gnostic tendency of the Philippian Epistle is the chief reason for doubting its authenticity, the latter is sufficiently assured.

Colossians, goes to prove that the Redeemer was the Son of God in a unique sense, the image of the invisible God, of the same substance with Him; and again, that before His historical appearance as the Son of man, even before the existence of any creature, He existed in a divine living form, as an actual *person*, capable of forming a purpose, and of accomplishing a moral act of self-denial; and, finally, that the creation of the world and its continuance are mediated by Him. These are absolute truths which were already expressed in substance in the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians. The distinction between the two classes of Epistles cannot lie in the fact that the one sets forth a lower, the other a higher view of the divine in Christ, but consists solely in this, viz. that the one presents in a more extended form and develops more completely what the other expresses plainly enough but more briefly and in a more compressed form. This distinction, arising out of the circumstances in which Paul wrote, partly from the direction taken by the errors which he had to combat, is natural enough. The consensus is so decided that, by means of it, not only the unity of Paul's doctrine, but also the genuineness of the Epistles that have been attacked on the ground of an alleged opposition of doctrine, becomes clear to an unprejudiced mind.

There is, however, still one point that we must examine more closely in order fully to understand the apostle's apprehension of the Godhead of Christ, viz. his view of the definite relation of the divine in Christ to the Father. The question arises, Is Christ on His divine side, according to Paul, *absolute* personality, actual God, or not? We have already

pointed out the exalted view contained in the utterance that in Christ *κατοικεῖ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος*, *quidquid inest divinitati* (Col. i. 19, ii. 9), not divided or limited, but the whole, complete fulness of the Godhead (*πᾶν τὸ πλ.*) in both passages. If *all* in which the essence of God consists dwells in Christ, He must for this very reason be God in a complete, that is, a true sense. If, moreover, we consider that eternity must belong to the Redeemer on His divine, premundane side (*πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, Col. i. 15), and that the act of creation is expressly attributed to Him as its mediator (1 Cor. viii. 6; Col. i. 16), and that in a number of passages He is represented as sitting at the right hand of God (Rom. viii. 34; Eph. i. 20, etc., and others), *i.e.* as taking part in the government of the world: we cannot consistently refuse to acknowledge that those very qualities and acts which belong solely and alone to God as God, belong also to Christ, *i.e.* that He is God in a full and true sense.¹ Further, we must place in the scale what Paul says of the *name of Jesus* and its invocation: in the letter to the Corinthian Church, 1 Cor. i. 2, he speaks of Christians as *οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. To call upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ is clearly intended as adoration, actual worship,² as *הַיְהוָה יֵשׁוּעַ מְרַבָּה*. Still

¹ Baur rightly maintains, even while opposing the correct interpretation of 1 Cor. viii. 6, *Paulus*, 2nd ed. ii. 265, that the highest conception of God is exemplified in the creation. If, therefore, all things were created *by* Christ, this would be an assumption that He is not merely *κύριος* but *θεός*.

² This extended meaning of the *ἐπικαλούμενοι*, etc., commonly remains unobserved, as recently by Heinrici, 1 *Kor.* p. 46, etc., and Holsten, *das Ev. des Paulus*, p. 255, etc.

more conclusive in this respect is the way in which, in Rom. x. 13, the words of Joel ii. 32: **כָּל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִפְלֹט**, are directly transferred to Jesus, so that the prayer of believers is addressed to Jesus in the same sense as in the Old Covenant to Jehovah, and has the same promise attached. Meyer indeed defends himself, *Comm.* 2nd ed., by making this distinction, that "*calling upon* Christ is not *worship* in an absolute sense, but rather has its seat in the relativity of the praying consciousness, conditioned by the relation of Christ to the Father;" an analysis which conveys no very clear meaning to our mind, and has no foundation in the passage itself. There is no doubt as to the meaning of the confession in Phil. ii. 9, etc.: "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name: that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Meyer here justly repudiates all attempts to explain away the worship of Jesus, for the whole context has reference to the *honour* of Jesus; and the bowing of the knee in His name in particular is nothing but a statement of the adoration and actual worship of Him in the body. In ver. 11, however, *εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς*, Meyer has some support in asserting the "relative" and not "absolute" character of this worship, of which we shall treat in the following pages. Putting together what goes before, the impression is overpowering, that in attributing to Christ Jesus the absolute fulness of divine essence, mediation in the creation of all things, and participation in the divine government of the world;

in presupposing and requiring the full and true worship of Jesus, even making it God's aim in exalting Him,—Paul acknowledges Christ to be God in the true sense of the word. Accordingly it can neither surprise us if he applies even the *name* θεός to Christ; nor would it have much weight in respect of doctrine, if, on closer examination, the opposite appeared. We must decide for the former. The passage most disputed is Rom. ix. 5: [*Ἰσραηλῖται*] ὧν οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν. The two leading interpretations opposed to each other are, as is well known, that of the Fathers and Reformers, which puts nothing more than a comma after Χριστὸς τ. κ. σ., referring the words ὁ ὧν—αἰῶνας to Christ; the other interpretation being the modern one, first proposed by Erasmus, which puts a colon after Χριστὸς τ. κ. σ., and understands the words ὁ ὧν, etc., to apply to God the Father. There is an intermediate interpretation which puts the point after πάντων; and this also was first started by Erasmus; but it has least in its favour, because of the abruptness it introduces. As to the two leading interpretations, two important facts may be laid down: (1) both are equally just linguistically and logically; (2) the only important argument that is or can be urged against the old ecclesiastical reference of the clause to Christ, lies in the apostle's teaching with respect to Christ and His relation to God, elsewhere. These two observations are indisputable, and are universally admitted. An additional fact is, (3) that the punctuation and interpretation of the words adopted by the ancient Church is more natural and easy than the opposite one, as even Rückert candidly admits, although he himself

does not refer the clause to Christ. All, therefore, that is urged against the interpretation: "Christ who is God over all, blessed for ever," amounts to this, that Paul, animated by a firm belief in *one* God, nowhere else calls Christ directly *θεός*, though he here terms Him "God over all." But what does this prove, if, taking other passages into account, we are still forced to admit that Paul, in conformity with his doctrine of Christ elsewhere, might, like John, have used *θεός* as a predicate of Christ, in distinction from *ὁ θεός* (Meyer, *Comm.* p. 84, etc.)? Paul does in fact here speak of Jesus not as *ὁ θεός*, but as *θεός*. Having regard, therefore, to Paul's teaching elsewhere, as shown above, that Christ is true God, we adhere to the interpretation which refers the clause in question to Christ. The thought, in its connection with ver. 4, is the following. The highest privilege of the people of Israel, the last crowning mark of favour bestowed upon them, consists in the fact that *He* who is above all, to whom adoring praise is due in all times, proceeded from them according to the flesh.¹

But although Paul with full conviction recognises Christ as God, even calling Him by the name of God, yet we must not conceal the fact that he persistently makes a distinction between God and Christ, conceiv-

¹ We agree with the treatise of Herm. Schultz, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1868, p. 462, etc., which Godet, *Comm. on Romans* (translated into German), ii. 134, has justly termed a "true classic," for it is methodical, cautious, and convincing. Schultz, pp. 483, etc., 502, etc., lays stress on the fact that the apostle here speaks of the historical Christ exalted at the right hand of God, which we are ready to admit, but must, however, observe that the exalted Christ, according to Phil. ii. 5, etc., is to the apostle the same who in His pre-existent state lived in divine form, and did not

ing of Christ as dependent upon the Father, and placing Him under God the Father. Christ is the *Son of God*, His *first-born*; God *sent forth* His Son (Gal. iv. 4), raised Him from the dead (Gal. i. 1), exalted Him to the highest glory (Phil. ii. 9 : 1 Cor. xv. 27). God is *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ.* (Eph. i. 17); the head of Christ is God (1 Cor. xi. 3); Christ is God's (1 Cor. iii. 23). It is true—those who on insufficient evidence deny that Paul calls Jesus God are so far right — that Paul adheres strictly to the monotheism of the Old Testament, knowing only *one* God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; whenever he writes *ὁ θεός*, he means God the Father, the absolute First Cause of all created being, as Christ is the absolute Mediator of the whole creation (1 Cor. viii. 6); the worship of Christ has its ultimate aim in the honour of God, who is Himself the absolute aim (Phil. ii. 11 ; 1 Cor. xv. 27). Two things, however, must here be kept in view: (1) that Paul invariably starts from the historical Christ and the historical relation of Christ to the Father, even when looking back to prehistoric time or forward to the future; (2) that the relation in God between Father and Son is reciprocal. But Paul also speaks comprehensively of the triad in God: *τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα—ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος—ὁ αὐτὸς θεός*, the

become God by His ascension into heaven, but only attained divine glory, being exalted to a place above every creature, so that He is entitled to divine adoration. We shall only mention, in conclusion, that the interpretation of Rom. ix. 5, given above, has been preferred among modern expositors, not only by Tholuck, Olshausen, Hofman, Delitzsch, and Philippi, but also by Usteri, *paulin. Lehrbegriff*, 4th ed. p. 324, etc.; Ritschl, *Entstehung des altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 79; Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* 4th ed. p. 281, comp. note 5; Schultz *ante*; R. Schmidt, *paulin. Christologie*, p. 141.

grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost (2 Cor. xiii. 13).

Having thus far kept mainly in view the *divine* in the person of Jesus, we now turn our attention to what Paul says of the *human* in Him: God sent His Son, born of a woman (ἐξαπέστειλε—γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, Gal. iv. 4; comp. Rom. viii. 3). Here the incarnation of Christ is taken as an act of God the Father; but, on the other hand, in Phil. ii. 7, etc., as an act of the pre-existent Redeemer Himself, which agrees very well with the former. In the birth from a woman, the apostle admits the true and perfect humanity of Jesus to be a self-humiliation on His part; but He has chosen an expression (as Hilgenfeld himself remarks, *Galaterbrief*, p. 174) which suits well the fatherless generation of Jesus, without expressly attesting it.¹ In Rom. v. 15, Paul terms Christ "*the one man*, Jesus Christ," τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου, in contradistinction from *the one* Adam; also in 1 Cor. xv. 21: δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν. On the other hand, the limiting expression employed in Rom. viii. 3 and Phil. ii. 7 does not throw any doubt on the perfect humanity of Jesus. In the former passage ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας does not call in question the actual humanity of Jesus, but only

¹ We acknowledge, with Wieseler, *Comm.* p. 333, that the words contain neither affirmation nor denial of the generation of Jesus by God's miraculous power without the agency of man. Among recent expositors, Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1. 84, maintains the former, without adequate ground; Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 152, is in favour of the latter; but neither does the silence of the apostle here prove that he teaches the natural generation of Jesus nor the descent from David attested in Rom. i. 3, since the Davidic descent of Mary is by no means excluded; comp. Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 289, etc., and note 3.

denies that He is tainted with sin, as Tertullian well remarks in opposition to Marcion, v. c. 14, ed. Oehler, ii. 315: "Similitudo" ad titulum "peccati" pertinebit non ad substantiæ mendacium. Paul would not have applied the term ὁμοίωμα to σὰρξ alone, but only to sinful flesh: σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας.¹ Again, Phil. ii. 7: ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, mainly with a view to the Godhead of Christ, represents His birth as like the birth of other men (the parallel εὐρεθείς does not authorize us to reject this definite sense, with Meyer), but (as Lange, *Kirchengesch.* i. 131, acutely remarks) we must not overlook the circumstance that the apostle says ὅμοι. ἀνθρώπων, not ἀνθρώπου, which would be incomparably nearer to Docetism, while the plural describes men as they are according to experience. Although Christ is descended κατὰ σάρκα from the patriarchs, especially from David (Rom. i. 3, ix. 5), although sharing all the weakness and liability to suffering incidental to the life of the body (ἀσθένεια, 2 Cor. xiii. 4), and even becoming subject to death; yet He is absolutely free from all sin: ὁ μὴ γινὸς ἁμαρτίαν, 2 Cor. v. 21, in His own personal experience knew no sin; *i.e.* Paul recognises Christ as actual man, but pure and sinless. In common with Peter and the other apostles, Paul lays stress on the fact that Jesus was born of the seed of

¹ Holsten, *Zum Ev. des Paulus und des Petrus*, p. 436, etc., and after him Overbeck, *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.* 1869, 2, p. 200, etc.; Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 153; Lorenz, *Lehrsystem*, p. 116, etc., interpret the ὁμοίωμα σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας as if it were identical with σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας, and do not hesitate to attribute to the apostle the doctrine that Jesus was tainted with an innate tendency to sin, but remained free from every act of sin—a thought which is altogether un-Pauline, and quite at variance with Scripture. The error of this explanation has been proved impartially and convincingly by Ed. Zeller, *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.* 1870, 3.

David according to the flesh, and came from the patriarchs (Rom. i. 3, ix. 5), attaching great importance to His Davidic descent and to His lineage as the Messiah from the patriarchs of the people of Israel. But there is another point of view peculiar to this apostle; he regards Christ, whom he presents to us as the eternal Son of God, born of man, as at the same time the *new* man, the second beginner of humanity, the progenitor, as it were, of a new spiritually-minded line of the human race. This point of view is conspicuous in Rom. v. 15, etc., 12, etc., where Jesus, as the *one* beginner of favoured humanity, is contrasted with the *one* Adam who stands at the head of the line of sin and death. We find a further extension of the thought in 1 Cor. xv. 45, etc.: Christ is the second Adam, the second man coming from heaven, as the first Adam is of the earth; the latter was a living soul, therefore psychic in the lower sense; Christ, on the other hand, is πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν, i.e. not only Himself πνευματικός, but also the principle of spiritual life to humanity.¹ We must

¹ This parallel with Adam, the man who came directly from the Creator's hand, the first progenitor of the human race, attests on the one hand the actual humanity of Jesus, showing on the other hand, in opposition to the view of Usteri, *Lehrbegriff*, p. 238, note; Pfeleiderer, *ante*, note, and others, that a supernatural generation of Jesus is irreconcilable with the Pauline doctrine. Holsten, *Zum Ev. des Paulus u. Petrus*, p. 422, etc., comp. p. 374; *das Ev. des Paulus*, i. p. 431, etc., esp. 435, note; Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 131, etc., and Beyschlag, *Christologie des N. T.* p. 241, etc., following the precedent of Baur, ascribe to the apostle the strange gnostic, docetic idea that Christ in His prehistoric existence was the typical man, a spiritual form of light. And on what does this fancy rest? On the simple words of 1 Cor. xv. 47: ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χαϊνός, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, comp. ver. 48: ὁ ἑσπερίωνος, i.e. the first Adam was of the earth (Gen. ii. 7: אָדָם עֵפֶר

here content ourselves with merely indicating the point of view of the new beginning of humanity originating in the person of Jesus the God-man, in so far as it concerns the *person* of Christ, since we have already touched upon it in the discussion of sin (p. 353, etc.), and must return to it in treating of the grace of God.

The apostle's teaching respecting the person of Jesus Christ centres in this, viz. in setting in the clearest light the glory of Jesus Christ as the incarnate Son of God. Paul teaches us, on the one hand, the deity of Christ in whose face the light of God the Father shines into the illuminated heart, inasmuch as He was before the world, and the world was created by Him; on the other hand, he gives prominence to the humanity of Jesus Christ, inasmuch as the Son of God, out of a free purpose of love, emptied Himself, was born as man, and as God-man became the progenitor of a new, favoured, spiritually-ordered line of humanity.

הוֹשִׁיעַנוּ), therefore earthly, mortal; the second Adam, Christ, was of heavenly origin, by nature heavenly, spiritual, able to rise again. There is no direct reference in ver. 47 to the risen Christ (as Meyer, R. Schmidt, and Weiss affirm); we agree, on the other hand, with Messner, p. 230; Gess, *Lehre von der Person Christi*, p. 14, etc.; and Heinrici, *Comm.* p. 539. But we are not therefore justified in ascribing to the apostle the idea that Christ as archetypal man pre-existed in a body of light, which can only be made to look like truth by means of dialectic arts and indemonstrable hypotheses (*e.g.* Holsten, *Ev. des Paulus*, 432); while ver. 46 positively refutes the conception (comp. Weiss, 4th ed. p. 294, note; Lorenz, *Lehrsystem*, 1884, p. 114, etc.).

II. REDEMPTION THROUGH THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

Christ is the ground of salvation. All that He is personally is essential to the reconciliation that He has accomplished. In Christ, God has reconciled the world unto Himself, 2 Cor. v. 19: *θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ*. The centre of the revelation of God in Christ is therefore *καταλλαγὴ*, reconciliation, the removal of the separation and enmity that exist between the world and God, God and the world; world being here taken in its most comprehensive sense, although the redemption of sinful humanity stands in the foreground; Col. i. 20, etc.: it pleased God, *διὰ Χριστοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτὸν, εἰρηνοποιήσας—καὶ ὑμᾶς, ποτε ὄντας ἀπηλλοτριωμένους καὶ ἐχθροὺς — ἀποκατήλλαξεν*.

But in what did this work of redemption consist? The chief answer that Paul gives to this question lies in the fact that "He was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification," Rom. iv. 25; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 3, etc. But these two main points do not contain an explicit statement of the whole matter. In several passages Paul speaks of the obedience of Jesus having served the purpose of redemption; so in Gal. iv. 4, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law (*γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ*), *i.e.* by His birth He was put under the law and made obedient to it.¹ Hilgenfeld's theory, that the recogni-

¹ The use of *νόμος* without the article prevents our understanding it here, with by far the greater number of expositors (*e.g.* Meyer, Hofmann, *ante*, ii. 1. 76), as the Mosaic law in an exclusive sense.

tion here of an *obedientia activa* would be completely at variance with the Pauline view, since the death of Christ alone effects reconciliation, is entirely disproved by Rom. v. 19, where the obedience of Jesus (*ἡ ὑπακοή τοῦ ἐνός*) is asserted as the ground of the justification of many. It is usual, indeed, to limit the *ὑπακοή*, as in ver. 9, to the death of Jesus (Usteri, Rückert, Meyer, Lorenz, and others); but neither the parallel of Adam's *one* act of disobedience, nor the above passage, justifies this; especially as the conception of the obedience of Christ's life as a whole (of which indeed His voluntary expiatory death formed the climax) admirably suits the context.¹ It appears to us that Bengel is quite right when he observes: "ex quo (verbo *ὑπακοή*) egregium de obedientia activa argumentum fluit." The assumption of Neander (*ante*, p. 703, etc.) and Hofmann (*ante*, p. 78, etc.), that *ἐν δικαίωμα*, v. 18, has reference to the moral obedience of Christ as the *one* total result of His life, appears to us untenable because of the word in ques-

Van Hengel's exposition of Rom. ii. 12 (*ante*, p. 209, etc.) appears to us to be well founded, viz. that the Pauline use of language invariably made a distinction between *νόμος* and *ὁ νόμος*, so that the word *with* an article denoted the Mosaic law distinctly and exclusively, while the word *without* an article expressed the general idea of law, no doubt frequently referring to the Mosaic law (*e.g.* in the passage in question); not, however, by way of distinction from another law, but in its universal character as law. Bengel observes, with respect to Rom. ii. 14: "*νόμος* modo sine articulo, modo cum articulo, *non sine causa* dicitur."

¹ Recently Godet, *Comm.*, has given the preference to this interpretation, for the reason that in the Levitical service it was necessary for the animal sacrificed to be without blemish, and correspondingly the sacrifice of the true offering of atonement must be without sin. The same expositor establishes that interpretation of the *δικαίωμα* to which we have given the preference, in a convincing manner, by a consideration of the context, apart from the language employed.

tion; for the signification of *δικαίωμα*, "holy work" according to Neander, or "condition of actual right" according to Hofmann, does not agree either with the Pauline use of *δικαιοῦν* and its derivatives or with the context, so well as the meaning "sentence of right," or "justifying judgment." In Phil. ii. 8, on the other hand, *ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου*, where (contrary to Hofmann, p. 80) *μέχρι θανάτου* refers equally to *ἐταπείνωσεν* and *γενόμενος ὑπήκοος* (for "in morte humiliatio maxima et obedientia maxima," Bengel), the whole life of Jesus is conceived as the proof of an obedience to God, of which the highest step was acceptance of death on the cross. Thus Paul considers the whole human life of Jesus, in its moral completeness, as laying the foundation of salvation. For this reason the death and resurrection of Jesus are with him always the two poles of Christ's work.

a. *Jesus' Death.*

Among the *πρῶτα*, the fundamental facts and truths of the gospel, as well as of his own apostolic preaching, Paul enumerates in 1 Cor. xv. 3, first: *ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*. In all his writings he sets forth the death of Jesus with the greatest emphasis. The redemptive significance of death on the cross is one of the fundamental ideas which have prominence in his gospel. Already does the Epistle to the Galatians open up deeper views of the importance of the death of Christ, in opposition to the errorists who wished to insist on the substance of the law as necessary to salvation. In the very first greeting, i. 4, Paul says

of Jesus: *ὁ δούς ἑαυτὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν.* He purposes to put before his readers, from the beginning, the great redemptive act of Christ, lest they should fall back into the legal way which makes the death of Jesus superfluous. In ii. 20 we have the indication of a new thought, where Paul, looking back to his former life, says: "The life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith *Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.*" Here, as in 1 Thess. v. 10, the relation of the death of Jesus to *sin* is not made emphatically prominent, but on the contrary, light is thrown on that sentiment of love which led to His dying for the salvation of men. The *cross* of Christ is mentioned repeatedly; Christ is set before the eyes of the Galatians by Paul as the Crucified One, iii. 1; Christ hanging upon the tree is made accursed for us, to deliver us from the curse of the law, iii. 13; "If I preach circumcision (as necessary to salvation) . . . then is the offence which many take at the cross of Christ ceased," *τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ*, v. 11; comp. vi. 12-14. In the same way, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, he calls the cross the chief subject of apostolic preaching. The one thing that he knows, that he recognises as the source of salvation, is the crucified Christ: *ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον*, i. 23; comp. 17, 18, *ὁ σταυρός*; ii. 2. Recommending his readers to spare the conscience of a brother, he terms this latter: *ὁ ἀδελφὸς . . . δι' ὃν Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε*, viii. 11. In calling Jesus the Passover Lamb: *καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν . . . ἐτύθη, Χριστός*, 1 Cor. v. 7, Paul employs a new designation (probably in view of the approaching Easter-tide; comp. Wieseler, *Chronol. des apost.*

Zeitalters, 1848, p. 327, etc., and almost all recent expositors). The apostle had previously spoken of the fornicator, who was to be cast out of the Church, and to this he attaches the exhortation to moral purity and renovation. Paul's exhortation to his hearers to purge out the old leaven, *i.e.* to put all evil away (alluding to the Old Testament custom of carefully ridding the houses of every remnant of leavened bread at the beginning of the Passover, Ex. xii. 15, etc., xiii. 7), that they might become a community of morally-renewed men, is supported by the assurance: "Ye are unleavened (*i.e.* cleansed as believers), for Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us." Two thoughts and images are here blended together with respect to the feast of the Passover, which must itself be regarded as a double feast.¹ From the words of the apostle we see clearly, first, that he connects the Passover sacrifice with what is unleavened in such a way that the former is not only antecedent in time,

¹ According to Ewald (*Die Altertümer des Volks Israël oder Geschichte Israëls*, Appendix to vol. ii. 1848, p. 358, etc.), with the spring feast of Unleavened Bread, as the principal one, was associated a preparatory propitiatory feast on the previous evening, *viz.* the Passover, the eating of the paschal lamb, which remained a family sacrifice offered up by each house for its own exemption from death. "The more completely this unleavened bread lost its original, natural significance (as an offering of the first-fruits of the very earliest barley harvest), the more freely could it be employed in a higher spiritual sense not incommensurate with the character of this particular feast. For while the Passover feast, as strictly propitiatory, was more and more closely connected with this principal feast, only being separated from it by one night, its meaning as an earnest cleansing and purification passed over more completely to the latter; thus the unleavened bread soon ceased to be merely a token, in keeping with the solemnity of the time, and became also a type of that perfect household purity to be restored in the beginning of a new year" (p. 366, etc.).

but actually conditions the latter, corresponding to the historical relation of the feast from which the imagery is drawn. Hence it is plain that he employs what is unleavened with its antithesis leaven, like the Passover lamb, as a figure. He himself explains the former; by the "leaven" he understands wickedness and sin, the nature of the old man, vv. 7, etc.; by "the unleavened" he understands moral integrity, inward purity and truth. Since therefore Christ, the Passover Lamb, is described as the condition of this purification from wickedness and sin, as the ground and cause of elevation to moral purity, the meaning of the apostle unquestionably amounts to this, viz. the death of Jesus Christ is the condition and cause of a purity and righteousness belonging to the Christian (*καθώς ἐστε ἄζυμοι*) which should be distinguished from the progressive, spontaneous purification, the continuous work of sanctification (*ἐκκαθάρατε . . . ζύμην, ἐορτάζωμεν . . . ἐν ἀζύμοις*). In other words, the death of Jesus Christ is the condition and cause of justification and the forgiveness of sins. What closer connection there is between the death of Christ and justification, cannot be seen from the words and their context, unless the signification of the Easter lamb as a sin-offering be implied in *τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν*, and the death of Jesus be conceived not merely as a reconciling, but also as an atoning act (comp. 2 Cor. v. 18, etc.).¹

¹ This interpretation is upheld by Meyer, Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 98; Heinrici, *Comm.* 166, note 1; Holsten, *das Ev. des Paulus*, p. 287; while Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 305, note 10; Ritsehl, *Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*, ii. p. 176, etc., fail to see the objective saving power of the death of Christ in this passage, because they refuse due weight to the expression *ἐστὶς ἄζυμοι*, with its foundation in fact: *καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός*. To the Passover

According to Paul, the death of Jesus is an act of *atonement*, καταλλαγή (Rom. v. 11; 2 Cor. v. 18, etc.), *i.e.* of reconciliation between God and humanity estranged from Him by sin, and at enmity with Him; moreover, the apostle teaches in close connection with this, that the death of Jesus is an expiation, a reconciliation, by vicarious suffering and sacrificial death. The idea is most fully set forth in 2 Cor. v. 18, etc., comp. ver. 15, a passage whose practical aim is to prove the divine character not only of the act of reconciliation itself, but also of the word of reconciliation. Paul asserts that all which is accomplished by redemption has its origin in God, who has reconciled us to Himself: ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ δόντος ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς; ver. 19: ὡς ὅτι θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ, μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, καὶ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς. Ver. 19, with ὡς ὅτι as *particulæ declarantes*, is an explanation of ver. 18 in its entirety, and is not to be limited merely to καταλλαγή, nor to διακονία τ. καταλλ. Ver. 19 defines more closely the fact that God has reconciled us to Himself through Christ—(1) on its negative side as a not imputing of trespasses; (2) in its aspect of positive realization, not as accomplished externally by Christ's agency, but as an inward union and communion with Christ, the atoning act of Christ being in reality an act on the part of God Himself. The words: θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ, cannot from the train of

character of Christ's death the apostle attaches not merely the requirement to lay aside sin, but also the doctrine: ye are already clean, because our Passover Lamb has been sacrificed, reconciliation has been accomplished (against Ritschl).

thought be regarded as an independent clause; ἦν—καταλλάσσω must rather be taken as expressive of the continuous character of the activity. It is in the nature of the thing itself that both thought and act of reconciliation proceed from *God* and not from man. But we learn from ver. 21 in what the divine act of reconciliation in Christ consisted (after the assertion of the divine character of the apostolic ministry of reconciliation, the apostles being ambassadors in Christ's stead): τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ, "God hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin" (in His own mental experience), *i.e.* has treated Him as if He were personally all sin, subjecting Him to the violent death of a malefactor; and the object of this treatment was that we who did not possess righteousness should by communion with Christ become personally the whole righteousness of God. This treatment befell Christ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, *i.e.* in the first place, for our salvation, but also in our stead; for ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, ver. 20, only makes a proper sense, if we understand it as taking the place of Christ (πρεσβεύομεν), just as an ambassador represents his lord, whereas "on behalf of Christ" (Meyer) has no proper meaning; but if the twice repeated ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ has this meaning, the same sense cannot be denied to ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν which immediately follows it, especially since the relation of suffering for sin in Christ and righteousness in believers implies an interchange of persons and their worth in the sight of God. Thus the atonement is accomplished by the vicarious sufferings of Christ. Ver. 15 (εἰς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον) is in harmony with this; here, too, the

death of Jesus was effected "for the salvation" of all; but the inference that all were then dead points to substitution, unless intermediate ideas be inserted in a very artificial way (Meyer, Hofmann, *ante*, ii. 1. 217, etc.).

The second leading passage respecting reconciliation by Christ's death, Rom. v. 6, etc., also testifies that the *καταλλαγή* (ver. 11) of men who formerly occupied a relation of enmity to God (v. 10) was accomplished by the death of Jesus, which He suffered on behalf of the ungodly (*ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν*, ver. 6). But the words of ver. 7: *μόλις ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τάχα τις καὶ τολμᾷ ἀποθανεῖν*, prove that the idea of substitution is also implied here. If one die for his benefactor (*ὁ ἀγαθός*, according to Tholuck's persuasive proof), nothing is more obvious than the conclusion that it is a vicarious death, a result that is hard to escape. But if in this case there be substitution, it is certainly to be found in Jesus' death for us, since we were sinners (vv. 6, 8); this follows from the chain of thought, though not from the word *ὑπὲρ*, which is always distinguished from *ἀντί*. The death of Jesus is here set forth as an act of love on the part of God, especially in ver. 8: *συνίστησι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην—ὁ θεός*, in opposition to *ὀργή*, ver. 9; *i.e.* the hostile relation of God towards us as sinners is removed by the *καταλλαγή*, as well as the hostile relation of sinners towards Him. Hence *ἐχθροί*, in ver. 10, has not a one-sided meaning, but is used reciprocally; and in the same way *καταλλαγή* must be taken as a change of the mutual relation of enmity into one of peace (ver. 1: *εἰρήνη*), which does not explain the manner of the restoration of our

δικαιωθῆναι, καταλλαγῆναι through the "blood" of Christ, vv. 9, 10. The *manner* is more clearly shown in Gal. iii. 13, a passage allied to 2 Cor. v. 21: Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου, γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα. Paul here defines the power of the death of Jesus with regard to the Mosaic law (comp. ver. 10, etc.). The law promises life to him who fulfils it, and pronounces a curse on all transgression and non-fulfilment (ver. 10); Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law under which the Israelites had fallen, suffering death for us, being made in fact a curse for us. Γενόμενος κατάρα, like ἁμαρτία in 2 Cor. v. 21, is naturally more than ἐπικατάρατος, for He who is personally a curse by means of His death on the cross unites in His person every curse; whereas the γενόμενος would be weakened by adopting Bähr's explanation, *Stud. und Krit.* 1849, p. 917, etc., viz. that Christ was set forth as a curse, and appeared as such to all, which is purely subjective, while γενόμενος is objective. But if Christ became a curse for the benefit of Israel, in order that the people might be redeemed from the curse of the law by His death, a vicarious relation, as Meyer himself admits, cannot be evaded by the requirement of more definite expressions (Hofmann, ii. 1, 223, etc.). The mediation of the redemptive power of Jesus' death lies therefore in the curse of the divine law, which Jesus took upon Himself when He was crucified as a malefactor, and which was worked out in His own person; so that Israel, though subject to the law and its curse, was exempted from the curse.¹

¹ With respect to Gal. iii. 13, Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung u. Ver-söhnung*, ii. pp. 244, etc., 252, etc., denies a reference to God, maintaining that the curse of the *law*, and not the curse of God, is

The significance of the death of Jesus for all humanity is more fully developed in the important passage, Rom. iii. 24, etc.: "Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God,—to declare at this time His righteousness, that He might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." Paul here distinguishes two periods of the world, the present and the earlier or pre-Christian. He asserts that a declaration of the righteousness of God (ἐνδειξις τῆς δικαιοσύνης θεοῦ) was necessary, because the righteousness of God appeared to be denied at the time of the forbearance in respect to former sins, when God's long-suffering was exercised.

We cannot here concede to the Dutch interpreter van Hengel that δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ means nothing else but *probitas hominis a Deo proficiscens*, both on account of the contrast formed by πάρεσις, and on account of the words that explain the idea indirectly, ver. 26: εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον, etc. Neither can we

in question; and that the death of Christ thus explained has a far deeper religious significance than when regarded in the light of a sacrifice. As if the line of thought in the Epistle to the Galatians did not regard the Mosaic law as God's appointment and His revelation, and the curse of the law as implied in the fact of God's curse (Weiss rightly makes this observation, *N. T. Theol.* p. 303, note 6). Besides, the following clause in ver. 14 (Israel's redemption from the curse was effected by the cross of Christ, in order that the blessing of Abraham might be imparted to the Gentiles in Christ) proves that the whole economy of salvation, even to the atoning death of Christ and the pouring out of the Spirit upon Jews and Gentiles, rests upon God's decree. The latter is made prominent by Holsten, *Ev. des Paulus*, i. 93, note. It is not "a doctrinal," but in fact "an exegetical judgment" (against Ritschl, p. 245), if we identify the curse of the law with the curse of God.

find in the expression the definite conception "judicial righteousness," with Tholuck, *Comm.* 5th ed. p. 146, etc., de Wette, Philippi, Pflciderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 95; Bonifas, *l'enseignement*, ap. p. 104, etc.; Godet, *Comm.* (German translation) i. p. 171, etc., because εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν . . . δικαιοῦντα demands a more comprehensive and fuller conception. In attributing to this "judicial righteousness" a justifying power, Meyer again drops the "strict sense." Godet, too, p. 171, advocates the meaning, "retributive righteousness," but seems to us to expand it as he goes on, at least to some extent, even in the *Excursus*, p. 178, etc. Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, interprets δικαιοσύνη quite too abstractly when he takes it to mean "the self-likeness of God, by virtue of which He is what He is." When Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, ii. 216 (1st ed. 1884), explains the δικαιοσύνη of this passage as "the conduct of God adequate to the salvation of men," he touches a point which is near the aim of the apostle's line of thought, but does not correspond to its starting-point, which is wider. It appears to us that the apostle in iii. 25, etc., in agreement with Old Testament usage and the doctrinal ideas of prophetism,¹ understands by δικαιοσύνη that quality of God by virtue of which He righteously upholds and administers the sacred order of the world. This righteousness, attested by the apostle, ver. 25, etc., God has not only maintained, but also shown in

¹ Comp. Sam. Lutz, *bibl. Dogmatik*, p. 136, etc.: "The righteousness of God, according to the religion of the Bible, is neither judicial in its character nor didactic, but is rather a manifestation of His nature, to wit, that He is holy; it is the energy of His holy essence," etc. Herm. Schultz, *A. T. Theol.* ii. 104 (1st ed.). Lorenz, *Lehrsystem im Römerbrief*, 1884, p. 123, etc. The denial of the idea of expiation in face of ἰλαστήριον is, however, inadmissible.

operation (*ἔνδειξις*), by setting forth Christ as *ἰλαστήριον προέθετο*, after He had exercised forbearance in the pre-Christian time. To understand *Ἰλαστήριον* as meaning "the cover of the ark," after the example of the Fathers and the Reformers, in conformity with the usage of the Septuagint, appeared to modern exegesis an interpretation so artificial and substantially incorrect, that Rückert in his *Commentary*, 1831 and 1839, judged that the time had come at length to pass it by in silence. Nevertheless Ritschl himself has taken it up again, and explains *ἰλαστήριον* as the Kapporeth. This interpretation, however, has been so convincingly refuted by the counter arguments of van Hengel, *Interpret.* p. 326; Godet, *ante*, p. 168; Weiss, p. 305, note 9, that further proof would be superfluous. On the other hand, the use of language is less favourable to the explanation of *ἰλαστήριον* as a masculine adjective, "he that serves to expiate" (van Hengel), than to its interpretation as a neuter substantive (*ἰλαστήριον*), a means of expiation, which corresponds to the teaching of the apostle elsewhere, and to that of the New Testament generally (*vid.* Rückert, Usteri, Weiss, *bibl. Theol. u. Comm.*; Godet, Lorenz), and suits the context God hath set forth Jesus Christ to be a propitiation in His blood, set forth before Himself as it were (reflexive, on which Schmid, *N. T. Theol.* 2nd ed. p. 547, and Hofmann, ii. 1. 226, lay stress), so that by means of faith in His propitiation we find remission of our sins and justification in the shedding of His blood. But in this atoning work of His Son, God has shown Himself to the whole world as the Just and the Justifier. The righteousness which God confers and effects in Christ is the foundation of that righteousness which

in Christ is imparted to the believer. In other words, the objective and the subjective righteousness of God are inseparably united.

If in this important passage of the Epistle to the Romans the death of Christ be represented as a means of reconciliation, the same thing is still more definitely expressed in the later Epistle to the Ephesians, v. 2, where the apostle admonishes them, "Forgive one another, and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved you," *καὶ παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὄσμὴν εὐωδίας*. While *προσφορά* is an offering, a sacrifice generally, the explanatory *θυσία* denotes essentially a bloody sacrifice, particularly an expiatory one. It is true that no word expressly points to the idea of expiation of guilt. But the mention of blood belongs essentially to the idea of sacrifice. The blood of the victim was the most sacred part of the sacrifice, as involving the surrender of life and soul; and according to the classic passage, Lev. xvii. 11, was the true means of reconciliation with God. Hence Paul too lays the greatest stress on the blood of Jesus shed in His atoning death, well-pleasing to God, Rom. iii. 25: *ἱλαστήριον . . . ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι*; comp. v. 9; Col. i. 20: *εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ*; Eph. i. 7, ii. 13; comp. 1 Cor. x. 16. Just as corporeity is essential to the humanity of Christ, so that the fulness of the Godhead dwells in Him bodily, and the glory of God shines in His face, so too the essence of the work of atonement effected by His sufferings and death lies in the fact that He actually shed His blood on the cross, surrendered the life of the body for our sins. Herein culminates the moral act of personal obedience, of His redeeming

love ; herein is fully revealed the love and reconciling righteousness of the Father, accomplishing the holiest justice.

The world-embracing view of the apostle sets forth in a clear light the power of the death of Christ as a means of reconciling and uniting discordant humanity with itself, and reveals the cosmic significance of this atoning death. These thoughts are particularly worked out in the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians ; the former in the Epistle to the Ephesians, the latter in the Epistle to the Colossians. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, ii. 11, etc., the Gentile apostle addresses those who had been heathen, reminding them of what they formerly were, and of what they had now become in Christ. He discusses the meaning of Jesus' death and its efficacy in reconciling and uniting divided humanity with (God and therefore) itself, raising the separated elements to a higher unity, into *one* new humanity, making of them *one* new man (ver. 15 : *εἰς ἓνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον*), forming them into a holy building of God (ver. 20, etc.), and a habitation of God in the Spirit (ver. 19). This grand consolidated new creation (*κτίσις*, ver. 15) has its root in general not only in the *one* person of Jesus Christ (vv. 13–21 : *ἐν Χριστῷ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν*, etc.), but in particular in His true corporeity, subject to suffering, and entirely in the surrender of His body, in His death on the cross, in the pouring out of His blood (ver. 13 : *ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ* ; ver. 15 : *ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ* ; ver. 16 : *ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι . . . διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἕχθραν ἐν αὐτῷ*). The apostle means to say : those far and near, Israel and the heathen, are reconciled to God by the body of Christ that was given up to death, being brought into

intimate communion with God. By virtue of this union with God in Christ they are united amongst themselves by *one* body into *one* body. In the Epistle to the Colossians, Paul, having the errorists in view, goes a step farther, and opens out a view into the power and efficacy of the death of Jesus, embracing not only humanity but the whole world, Col. i. 20, etc.: it pleased God that all fulness should dwell in Christ, *καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτὸν, εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, δι' αὐτοῦ, εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, etc. As Christ was formerly represented, in conformity with His divine being, as existing before the whole world, the instrument of the creation and preservation of all created beings, so now Paul speaks of the work of atonement accomplished by Jesus' death on the cross as embracing everything absolutely (*τὰ πάντα*), the universe, things in earth, and things in heaven. Here again prominence is given to the fact that the atonement is accomplished *ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου*, ver. 22, *i.e.* in the weak fleshly body of Jesus, subject to suffering (in opposition to the pseudo-spiritual nature maintained by the Colossian errorists), by the death that He endured (*vid.* Bähr and Meyer). But in what does the reconciliation of the world consist? Not merely in the peaceable union of a world divided in itself (Bähr), but in the restoration of all things to communion with God in Christ, for Christ by the shedding of His blood on the cross put away sin, and by this means converted the hostile relation towards God into a peaceable one (comp. Hofmann, ii. 1. 241, etc.). That the work of atonement applies to all creatures outside humanity is not stated in so many

words, and can therefore only be put forward as a conjecture with regard to the angel world, earthly nature, etc. (*vid.* Meyer on this passage). Besides the blotting out of the handwriting of ordinances against us by the death on the cross, Col. ii. 14 mentions only the triumph thus secured over the powers of the spirit-world.

In discussing the death of Jesus, Paul adheres always to the truth that it is *God*, the *Father* of Jesus Christ, who reconciles the world unto Himself in the Son, 2 Cor. v. 19, for *God gives* an active proof of *His* love to us in the fact that Christ died for us, Rom. v. 8; God sent His Son, and in His flesh condemned sin, that the requirements of the law might be fulfilled in us, viii. 3; God gave up His own Son for us, and as a proof of His righteousness set Him forth to be a propitiation, Rom. viii. 32, iii. 25. In short, the whole work of reconciliation in the death of Christ is in origin and essence the act of *God*, proceeding from His gracious decree and righteousness.

b. *Jesus' Resurrection.*

According to Paul, the resurrection of Jesus from the dead is as essential to the work of salvation as the death on the cross, 1 Cor. xv. 4; Rom. iv. 25. In the very greeting of the Epistle to the Galatians, the apostle speaks of God the Father as having raised Jesus from the dead; and in Eph. i. 20 he says: God proved His mighty power in Christ when He raised Him from the dead. So important in his view is the resurrection of Christ, that without it the apostolic preaching and the faith of Christians would be destitute of all truth, so that there could be neither salvation nor forgiveness of sins; 1 Cor. xv.

14, 17, etc. : κενὸν τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν . . . ἔτι ἔστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν. In how far is this true? To this question the apostle gives many answers, which may be classed under two heads, the importance of the resurrection in relation to the person of Jesus, and its importance to believers.

With respect to the person of Jesus, His resurrection is of the greatest importance, first, because by it He is proved to be the *Son of God*, Rom. i. 4 : τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει, κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιοσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν. If we take ὀρίζειν in the sense established by usage, viz. to appoint, to determine, *vid. ante*, p. 7, etc., in so far as the appointment of Jesus as the Son of God took place for our sakes, and not independently, it obviously means that Christ by His resurrection from the dead was accredited as the Son of God; Lorenz in his *Lehrsystem*, pp. 113, etc., 178, interprets ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν of the universal resurrection of the dead at the last judgment, by unauthorized straining of the plural νεκρῶν, which only means that the resurrection of Jesus is a guarantee for the future resurrection of the dead, while ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θ. — ἐξ ἀναστ. ν. plainly points to a fact in the past, and not to a future act of God. This attestation took place ἐν δυνάμει, *i. e.* it was an act of divine omnipotence, characterized by power and energy; inasmuch as δύναμις is here not merely subjective, denoting the effect which the resurrection of Christ exercises upon the mind, but objective, pointing to the power by which itself is effected. Paul therefore asserts that in the resurrection from the dead we have the strongest proof that Jesus is actually the Son of God. The full import-

ance of this meaning of the resurrection of Jesus appears when we remember the prominence given in the Pauline teaching to the dignity of Jesus as the Son of God, and consider also that personal life which has its beginning in the resurrection of Jesus. 1

This is expressed in Rom. vi. 9, etc. In order to show the absolute value of life-communion with the Redeemer, the apostle says: "We know that Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over Him; in that He liveth, He liveth unto God." Paul here looks at the resurrection of Jesus not as that divine act by which He was accredited to us as the Son of God, but in its immediate effect on Jesus Himself; by virtue of His resurrection Christ dieth no more, but lives an eternal, divine life. The resurrection has therefore for Christ Himself this meaning, viz. that He now is and remains the living one absolutely. This truth becomes still more evident if we recall the incident at Damascus, and the meaning the revelation had for Paul: He lives! Death had no more power over Him. Now first He fully lives!

As in the latter passage the resurrection of Christ was made the foundation of the Christian hope of eternal life with Christ in the future, so in Rom. xiv. 9, Paul, convinced that every believer lives and dies not to himself but unto the Lord, supports his exhortation to spare a brother's conscience by the argument: "For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that He might be Lord both of the dead and living." The aim and result of the resurrection-life of Jesus are here made to consist in the fact that He is Lord, and by virtue of His life and death, Lord of the dead and living. This thought is also to

be found in Phil. ii. 9-11, since the *ὑπερυψοῦν καὶ χαρίσασθαι τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὄνομα* must be regarded as having actual, though not exclusive reference to the raising of Jesus from the dead. If we consider how the essence of Christian faith lies in the recognition that Jesus is the Lord (*e.g.* 1 Cor. xii. 3; Phil. ii. 11), we feel the importance of the resurrection of Christ, since He is Lord by virtue of it. Paul therefore apprehends the significance of the resurrection in relation to the person of Christ Himself, as consisting in the fact that by it Christ was, first, attested to be the Son of God; second, that He now possesses an absolute, eternal, divine life; third, that He is now Lord of the dead and of the living.

On the other hand, the resurrection of Jesus has in Paul's estimation just as important a *significance for believers*. In the first place, because it is the basis of justification, Rom. iv. 25: *ἠγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν*, which is negatively expressed in 1 Cor. xv. 17: *εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, ματαία ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν*: if Christ be dead but not risen, then His death has no reconciling and justifying efficacy; in so far faith is without validity; but the resurrection is the divine seal of the work of atonement. The former passage is quite in harmony with this; it does not expressly state that the raising of Jesus from the dead is the efficient cause of our *δικαίωσις*, which would be at variance with other plain testimonies, *e.g.* Rom. v. 9: *δικαιωθέντες ἐν τῷ ἁίματι αὐτοῦ*. On the contrary, both words and context authorize the sense that Jesus was raised from the dead because God wished to justify us (by the death of His Son), so that the expiatory death establishes in itself the *δικαίωσις*, and the

resurrection of Christ assures us of the certainty of grace.¹

Again, the resurrection of Christ is the *foundation of the new divine life* in believers, Rom. vi. 4: ὡσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν. Accordingly the new life of the Christian is the image as well as the fruit of the raising of Christ from the dead, 2 Cor. iv. 10–12: ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ. Paul's assertion that the resurrection-life of Jesus, the divine life-power of the Redeemer, was revealed and actively manifested in His life, if understood merely of invincible spirit-power, is not consistent with ver. 10: ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν, and ver. 11: ἐν τῇ θνητῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν; but his meaning is that the life-power of the risen and living Christ is revealed in the saving and preservation of life.

Finally, the resurrection of Christ is *beginning, ground, and pledge* of the future *resurrection* of believers, 1 Cor. vi. 14: ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὸν κύριον ἤγειρε καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.

¹ The statement contained in Rom. iv. 25, if taken alone, might lead to a false conception of the value of the resurrection of Christ for salvation, in accordance with Pauline teaching. But it does not *necessitate* this. The clause, ver. 15, contains indeed a parallelism between offences and justification, the surrender of Jesus to death, and His raising up again. But the relation is expressed by διὰ, with Acc. in such a way that we are neither bound nor entitled to understand it in the sense that the resurrection of Christ is the direct cause of our justification. An interpretation which does not quite escape R. Schmidt, *paulin. Christol.* pp. 69–76. Godet's idea that the raising up of Christ was the consequence, the *effect* of our justification, is also untenable, because artificial and un-Pauline (*Comm.*, German translation, i. 206). We agree with Meyer, Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1. 383; Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 313, and the 6th edition of Meyer's *Commentary*, p. 281.

The unity prominent in this passage lies partly in the act of raising, partly in the person of Him that raises, viz. the omnipotent God; the resurrection of Christ being at the same time apprehended as co-ordinate with the raising of believers. The resurrection of believers will take place together "with Jesus" (*σὺν Ἰησοῦ* is the best attested reading), 2 Cor. iv. 14, inasmuch as Jesus in His resurrection is the first-fruits, and guarantees the future awakening of believers, as members of whom He Himself is head. The internal relation is still more exactly defined in Rom. viii. 11: "But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you" (*διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος* being assumed as the right reading). If we take the preceding context, ver. 9, into account, from which it is clear that there is no essential distinction between *πνεῦμα θεοῦ* and *πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ*, it follows that the resurrection of Christ is the ground of the resurrection of His faithful ones so far as the life and operation of His Spirit, the indwelling of the Spirit of God which raised up Jesus, is destined to exercise a life-giving, death-conquering efficacy on the body of believers also.¹ The subject is set in a wide and large view in Col. i. 18: *ὃς ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*. Christ is the beginning, the first-born from the dead. In this short sentence there lies first, the thought that as He came forth from the dead, so likewise His brethren will come forth from the dead, will rise again (comp. Hofmann,

¹ Lorenz, p. 179, etc., borrowing a thought from the other Epistles, explains *ζωσποιήσεις* as indicating a bodily transformation of those who are alive at Christ's coming.

ii. 1. 241); and again, the great idea of the resurrection as a birth, the beginning of a new life. That which is here but briefly indicated, is more fully developed in 1 Cor. xv. 20; Christ is ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. "They that sleep," as Holsten, *Ev. des Paulus*, i. p. 418, etc., justly remarks, are those for whom death is a sleep, not the dead generally. But it is clear from the context that the allusion is not only to Christ as first in point of time, but as standing in close connection with posterity as a whole. When we read in ver. 21, "Since by one man came death, by one man came also the resurrection of the dead" (δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν); and in ver. 22: "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive;" and in ver. 23: "Every man in his order; Christ the first-fruits; afterward they that are Christ's, at His coming,"—in these passages Christ is conceived as the beginner of a new development of humanity. The resurrection of the dead came by Him (ver. 21), in Him all are made alive (ver. 22), that is, all those who closely belong to Him. If the first Adam was a living soul, the last Adam is a life-giving Spirit (ver. 45). Hence both by His appearance and by His resurrection Christ is the beginner and founder of a new life and resurrection; life-communion with Him (ἐν αὐτῷ, ver. 22) is the condition of the new quickening and future resurrection; God gives us victory over death by our Lord Jesus Christ (ver. 57; comp. ver. 55).

Here we must touch upon the question whether Paul is acquainted with a descent of Jesus into the under-world. The interpretation of the words, Eph. iv. 9: κατέβη εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς, is as much disputed to-day as ever; Harless, de Wette,

Rübiger, *christol. paul.* p. 68, etc.; Hofmann, ii. 1. p. 341, etc.; Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 429, and R. Schmidt, *paulin. Christol.* p. 20, etc., reject the view of a "descent into hell;" while Rückert, Olshausen, Baur, *Paulus*, 2nd ed. ii. p. 18, etc.; Stier, Hölemann, *Bibelstudien*, ii. 1860, p. 89, etc., and especially p. 121, etc.; Meyer, 4th edition of the *Commentary*, are in favour of it. With regard to the *words*, no one has yet ventured to assert that it is grammatically inadmissible to connect the comparative τὰ κατώτερα μ., the lower parts, with τῆς γῆς as the *Gen. possess.*, and to understand the depths of the earth, the under-world; on the contrary, this interpretation, which we prefer to the comparative ("deeper than the earth"), is by far the most simple, while it is less in accordance with the words to assume a *Gen. appos.*, in the sense of the deeper parts, viz. the earth. If we are to depart from the more natural meaning and to take εἰς τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς as a paraphrase of εἰς τὴν γῆν, which would then be an unnecessarily affected and pompous expression, we must be forced to it by the *context*. Hofmann with great diligence tries to prove that the connection points only to Christ's coming down to the earth, and not to His descent to the under-world. But the passage in Ps. lxxviii. 19, cited by Paul, ver. 8, cannot serve as a rule for the interpretation of the words in question, for the reason that the apostle obviously employs the words of the text with the greatest freedom, altering them, and (ver. 9) drawing an indirect conclusion from them. Hence the assumption that the connection of κατέβη with ἀνέβη, the former of which Paul takes for granted, involves the necessity of identifying the locality from whence Jesus came down with that to

which He ascended, can have no weight unless the great freedom with which the apostle proceeds be misapprehended. In any case, Jesus did not ascend direct from the under-world to heaven, but from the earth; nor did He descend to the under-world immediately from heaven but from the earth. The apostle is here concerned not with the exact and continuous succession of events in the life of Jesus, but with a description of the extreme limits or rather the illimitable presence of the Lord, active and embracing all antitheses absolutely. The other view, put forward by Hofmann, p. 345, seems to us to have no greater weight, viz. that Christ must have been in a state of glory in the place from which He came down, since the *καταβαίνειν* was an act of self-abasement. We have already disposed of this objection. Hence we give the decided preference to that interpretation which makes the words refer to a descent into the under-world, "*Ἄδης*."¹ Doubtless we must concede that there is no exact specification either of the period or the object of this event. The period may be inferred only in so far as the descent must precede the ascent. The words *ἠχμαλώτευσεν*

¹ We cannot recognise the explanation of R. Schmidt, *paulin. Christologie*, p. 201, etc., as convincing, for two reasons: first, because too little value is attached to the wording in *κατώτερα τῆς γῆς*, and to the parallelism between *κατέβη* with these words on the one hand and the *ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν*; and again, because the dialectic association of ideas, as well of the context as of the parallel passage, Eph. i. 20, etc., presented by the author, is not to the point. Doubtless the growth of believers individually and of the whole Church as the body of Christ, unto the measure of the fulness of Christ (iii. 19, iv. 12, etc.), is gradual; this does not, however, exclude, but rather requires as condition and guaranty of its realization, the filling of all things with the divine-human glory of Christ, which filling was accomplished on His part from the time of His exaltation.

αἰχμαλωσίαν, quoted from the Psalm, can scarcely be an indication of its object, for usage absolutely forbids our understanding them of the bringing with Him of those freed from captivity in Hades (Baur); they refer rather to the taking captive and leading in triumph of conquered foes, namely, of the powers of hell; and this victory is not placed in immediate connection with the descent, but with the ascent (*ἀναβάς*, ver. 8; comp. Col. ii. 15). If we must be content to draw from this passage no positive conclusion as to the period and object of the *descensus ad inferos*, it must at the same time be admitted that the apostle was only incidentally led to the subject, and seems not to have attributed to the event itself essential importance with respect to the work of redemption, touching upon it elsewhere but slightly (Phil. ii. 10, *καταχθονίων*; Rom. x. 7).

In connection with the resurrection of Jesus, and always intimately associated with it, Paul frequently mentions the *ascension* of Jesus and His *sitting at the right hand of God*, e.g. Rom. viii. 34: *Χριστὸς ὁ ἀποθανὼν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐγερθεὶς, ὃς καὶ ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*; Eph. ii. 4, etc.: *ὁ θεὸς . . . ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι, συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ . . . καὶ συνήγειρε, καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*; comp. i. 20, iv. 10: *ἀναβάς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν*; Col. iii. 1: *εἰ συνηγέρθητε τῷ Χριστῷ τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε, οὐδὲ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενος*. The second advent is also brought into connection with it, a subject to which we shall afterwards return. The expression: *ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν*, Eph. iv. 10, means unmistakeably that the heavens (i. 20),

where Christ is after His exaltation, are not to be imagined as extended in space, as cosmical, having a created form, but rather as exalted above all space, above all the limitations of space, which harmonizes well with the addition: *ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα*, meaning, according to Bengel, *ut implet omnia presentia et operatione sua, se ipso*. Hofmann, ii. 1. 539, and after him R. Schmidt, p. 204, etc., differs from this view. We fully assent to the premiss laid down by the former, viz., "Just as certainly as the apostle refers not to a *πληροῦν* of mere activity, but of personal presence, so certainly it seems to me, on the other hand, does he refer not to a mere existence, but to an active presence." But when Hofmann proceeds to draw from this premiss the conclusion that the presence of the Mediator of salvation will be one of gradual expansion, and supposes that he has thus set aside the thought of a "*universal presence*" of Christ, he has read this limitation between the lines. The *operative* presence of the exalted Christ, His all-embracing dominion and majesty, His participation in the divine government of the world (1 Cor. xv. 27: *πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ*; Eph. i. 22; comp. ver. 20, etc., and other passages), his claim to divine honour and worship (Phil. ii. 9), certainly form the chief thought which fills the soul of the apostle when he speaks of the exalted state of Jesus. He does not thus deny, but, on the contrary, positively asserts (especially in Eph. i. 23, iv. 10) that the exalted Christ, *as a divine-human person*, free from all limitations of space and time, rules everywhere. Paul alludes but slightly in Rom. viii. 34, *ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*, though here his meaning is plain enough (comp. Düsterdieck, *joh. Briefe*, i. 156), to

the fact that in this state Christ also makes intercession for His own with the Father, *i.e.* that something proceeds continuously between the exalted God-man and the Father which operates as a present, actual mediation (priestly intercession).

In relation to the person of Jesus Christ after His resurrection and exaltation, we have only to emphasize one point in addition, *viz.* that the Redeemer in His new life is and continues God-man and therefore also man in particular, that Paul always ascribes to Him a corporeity glorified; but not the less real. In this glorified body Jesus appeared to Paul himself (before Damascus), on which account the apostle adduces himself as an eye-witness of the Risen One (1 Cor. xv. 8; comp. ver. 4, etc.) equally with the apostles to whom Jesus appeared immediately after His resurrection. It is only so far as Jesus is true man in His new life after resurrection that Paul can call Him the "*first-born* from the dead" (Col. i. 18), for as such He must have brethren, posterity of the same nature with Himself. The weighty position: "In Him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," Col. ii. 9, refers, according to the tense *κατοικεῖ* as well as the whole context, to the present, consequently to the exalted Redeemer; and the apostle says, even of the glorified Jesus, that the fulness of all that God is dwells in Him *σωματικῶς*, *i.e.* has a bodily dwelling-place in Him. The resurrection-body of Christ, with which He is continuously clothed in His exaltation, is indeed no longer *σάρξ* or *σῶμα τῆς σαρκός* (Eph. ii. 15; Col. i. 22; comp. Rom. viii. 3), but a *σῶμα τῆς δόξης* (Phil. iii. 21, comp. *δόξα θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ*, 2 Cor. iv. 6), a *σῶμα πνευματικόν* (1 Cor. xv. 44, etc.), a glorious, spiritual, undying body.

We have now considered that side of the Pauline preaching in which the fundamental view of the *δόξα τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (2 Cor. iv. 4) is developed, viz. the doctrine of the person of Jesus Christ the Son of God, and of His work. This doctrine attaches itself closely to the simple testimony (*κήρυγμα*) of the apostle setting forth the facts of salvation. It may be regarded as a conceptual development of the conviction received by Paul at his conversion, that Christ lives, that He is the Son of God, the Lord, and the ground of salvation.

SECOND PART.

SALVATION AND ITS REALIZATION.

Salvation for the world of sin has been given in the person of Christ, in His crucifixion, resurrection, and exaltation. How is it realized in humanity, in the individual and in the Church ?

I. THE APPROPRIATION OF SALVATION BY THE INDIVIDUAL.

The individual is by God's agency placed in a state of grace, by means of *the word* and *of baptism*, whereby he is grafted into Christ and becomes partaker of His mediatorial death. Hence arises a new life, the growth of a new man, a new creature. On the other hand, the human will must advance to meet the work of God's grace, receiving, surrendering, apprehending, obeying (the personal *καταλαβεῖν*, corresponding to the *καταλημφθῆναι ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ*,

Phil. iii. 12). The existence of the new creature then passes through manifold stages of development closely connected one with another, viz. justification, sanctification, hope.

a. *Justification by Faith.*

This truth is the fundamental thought of the Roman Epistle, standing in fact at its head (i. 16, etc.), as a theme. After the apostle has shown that it is impossible of oneself, by means of the works of the law, to attain to a righteousness that avails before God, he continues, iii. 21, thus: "But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested—even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe." This righteousness is one that proceeds from God: ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη, Phil. iii. 9; Ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἡμῖν — ἀπὸ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη (1 Cor. i. 30). It is a gift, a free bestowment of God's grace: θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, Eph. ii. 8; comp. Rom. vi. 23, iii. 24.

Righteousness is guaranteed through *Christ* as the *Mediator*, His death and resurrection forming the condition, Rom. iv. 24, etc., v. 9: δικαιοθέντες ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ.

But in what does the δικαιοσύνη itself consist?

It is a condition of righteousness, viz. that state conformable to the will of God which is at one time conceived as an operative life-element *in* man (Rom. xiv. 17, vi. 13; 2 Cor. ix. 10), and again as a life-power standing *above* man and dominating him (2 Cor. xi. 15; Rom. vi. 18, etc.), which, however, makes no essential difference. But the relation to

God, His judgment, pleasure, and approval is its invariable, fundamental, and essential characteristic, whether this is expressly stated (*δίκαιος, δικαιοῦσθαι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ*, Gal. iii. 11; Rom. ii. 11) or not. To assume, solely on the basis of Phil. iii. 9, that *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, with respect to the meaning of which there is still great uncertainty, means in every passage "the righteousness which proceeds from God, is effected by Him," seems to us unauthorized. We take it to mean the righteousness of God in which, according to circumstances, the righteousness which God Himself has and manifests, or that which He imparts, has the preponderance. With respect to the *δικαιοσύνη* as a human condition of righteousness, Lipsius (*Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*, p. 4, etc.) has endeavoured to prove that in several passages it is conceived as a state not yet entered upon, but only in the future. But the single utterance in which this thought occurs (Gal. v. 5: *ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα*) forms so marked an exception, and in all other passages, even in those interpreted by Lipsius in this sense, *δικαιοσύνη* is so plainly spoken of as a present and accomplished fact, that we maintain the apostles' teaching to be that the *δικαιοσύνη*, with those who are in a state of grace, is an already present condition of righteousness pleasing to God.

This condition is effected by the *δικαίωσις*, which is a divine act. God is the *δικαιῶν τὸν ἀσεβῆ*, Rom. iv. 5. How is this to be understood? Does He make the ungodly man just as righteous as He had formerly been ungodly? Or does He only look upon the ungodly man as justified, pronouncing him such, while he remains ungodly as before? Is the

δικαίωσις an act merely judicial, or is it communicative? It is sometimes negative; forgiveness of sins, removal of condemnation, a not imputing of transgressions (Rom. ii. 13, iv. 2, etc., v. 10, viii. 33; 1 Cor. iv. 4; 2 Cor. v. 19). This is manifestly a judicial act. The Pauline use of δικαιοῦν, δικαίωσις is taken from forensic procedure as certainly as are ἐγκαλεῖν, κατακρίνειν, κατάκριμα (Rom. viii. 33, etc.). Δικαιοῦν in New Testament usage unquestionably means not *justum facere*, but *justum habere*. Lipsius, *ante*, p. 17, etc., puts forward the view that the δικαίωσις is an *actus forensis* only in its conclusion, but in its separate stages is a summary of those divine acts of grace whereby God places man in a relation in which He *habet* him *justum*. But Lipsius reasons always on the basis of an antithesis between a judicial declaration and a gracious operation, which in our judgment is by no means Pauline. The apostle seems rather to have in view the judicial act of God in the δικαιοῦν as well as an act of grace communicative in its nature, regarding both latter and former as an act of the δικαιοσύνη of God. And the divine justifying declaration is undoubtedly represented in Rom. v. 1, 9, viii. 30, as an act of God already past and accomplished. Only by means of ingenious, and to some extent audacious inferences does Lipsius, p. 44, etc., draw from Gal. ii. 16, Rom. viii. 30, 1 Cor. iv. 4, the conclusion that δικαίωσις, as the result of endeavour after righteousness, stands only at the goal of Christian development; and where it is represented as already past, must be conceived only as preparatory, not as finally realized.¹

¹ That in the Pauline doctrinal system δικαιοῦν denotes a divine judgment, the pronouncing just, has been shown by Ritschl, *Rechtferti-*

The *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* is attained and appropriated by faith (*ἐκ πίστεως*, Rom. i. 17, v. 1 : *διὰ πίστεως* ; iii. 22, 25). The *πίστις* with Paul stands in opposition to the *ἔργα νόμου* or simply *ἔργα* ; the *πιστεύειν* is opposed to the *ἐργάζεσθαι*, Rom. iv. 5. But it is still a matter of dispute as to what is the positive Pauline conception of faith. Baur (*Paulus*, 2nd ed. ii. p. 172) understands it thus: " Faith is—the conception, formed in looking to Christ, that what is not in itself yet is." On the hypothesis of such a meaning he is certainly quite justified in asking, " How is it possible that faith as a mere opinion that a thing is what it is said to be, although it is in fact the very opposite, could have any mediating influence in bringing about a relation to God?" Bearing in mind, however, the various utterances of the apostle where he treats of faith, we cannot approve of this interpretation. With him the *πίστις* is rather a moral certainty, an act of the mind, a *ὑπακούειν ἐκ καρδίας* in opposition to the *ἀπειθεῖν*, Rom. vi. 17, xi. 31, etc. ; comp. x. 10 : *καρδίᾳ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην*. If we look to the discussion respecting the faith of Abraham, which throws much light on this point, we find that according to Paul faith is nothing but the divine favour, whether it be promissory as in the case of Abraham, or whether it be actual giving, a laying hold on divine grace with firm trust and lively confidence, acceptance even when appearances are adverse.

gung und Versöhnung, ii. pp. 301, etc., 318, etc., who refers both to the Old Testament and to the apostle's sphere of thought. In like manner Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 172, etc., and Lorenz, *Lehrsystem*, p. 150, etc., especially p. 155, etc., have clearly set forth the Pauline conception of "imputed righteousness."

Faith, as Pfeleiderer (*Paulinismus*, p. 166) strikingly puts it, is the most complete fulfilment of the divine will, not of that will which demands the fulfilment of the law, but of the will which bestows grace—trustful acceptance of the gift of grace offered by God. It is the keynote of religious feeling, not the normal disposition of the moral will. In faith the soul lays hold on Jesus, thus entering into life-union with Him; by faith Christ dwells in the heart, so that He lives in man; Eph. iii. 17: κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν; 1 Cor. i. 9: κοινωνία Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; Rom. viii. 10: Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν; Gal. ii. 20: ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγὼ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός. The element of this new life is the πνεῦμα. Gal. v. 25: ζῶμεν πνεύματι.

b. *Sanctification.*

By God Christ is made unto us—sanctification, 1 Cor. i. 30. What is here predicated of God, Christ is made unto us the source and power of sanctification by God, is elsewhere expressed by the apostle, beginning with the soul, in the form of an exhortation to believers “to walk in the spirit;” Gal. v. 25: εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, καὶ στοιχῶμεν. The former statement refers to the condition of the regenerate, viz. faith; the latter, to the preservation of the new life in Christian conduct. The requirements of this conduct in a state of sanctification are summarized negatively and positively by Paul, 2 Cor. vii. 1, in the exhortation: καθάρισωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ἐπιτελοῦντες ἀγιωσύνην ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ. The negative aspect is also

comprehended in the requirement addressed to Gentile Christians not to walk as the Gentiles do in the vanity of their mind, but to put off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, Eph. iv. 17, 22. This refers especially to the bodily life, in respect of which it is laid down as the duty of the Christian to mortify through the spirit the sinful lusts, *i.e.* the deeds of the body, Rom. viii. 13, and to avoid all defilement of the flesh (*vid. ante*, 2 Cor. vii. 1); on the other hand, to treat the body as a member of Christ, to reflect that the body of the believer is a temple of the Holy Spirit, and to glorify God in the body, 1 Cor. vi. 15, 19, etc.; comp. Rom. vi. 19: *παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ εἰς ἁγιασμέν.* This idea, viz. that as sin has taken advantage of the body and the life of the body to get dominion over it, so now the state of grace or sanctification should also be imprinted on the life of the body, is most fully expressed in the double clause of 1 Cor. vi. 13: *τὸ σῶμα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ὁ κύριος τῷ σώματι.* As to the spiritual, the walking in satisfaction involves the casting down of imaginations and of every high thing which exalts itself against the knowledge of God; the bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ, 2 Cor. x. 5. The apostle delights to include the virtues of the Christian walk in the conception of love, for it is only *πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη*, Gal. v. 6, which avails in Christ; and love, according to the magnificent description of 1 Cor. xiii., is greater than faith and hope. It is walking in the spirit by which the righteous requirement of the law (*τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου*) is fulfilled, Rom. viii. 4. The fruits of

righteousness in good works are the aim of all renovation of souls in Christ Jesus (Col. i. 10 ; Eph. ii. 10 ; Phil. i. 11.

c. The Hope of Everlasting Life.

“Whom God hath justified, them hath He also glorified,” Rom. viii. 30. In these words the apostle puts together justification and blessedness. But justification, sanctification, and redemption are finely connected in their internal concatenation, 1 Cor. i. 30: Christ is made unto us *δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἁγιασμός καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις* ; Rom. vi. 22 : *νυνὶ δὲ, ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, δουλωθέντες δὲ τῷ θεῷ, ἔχετε τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶν εἰς ἁγιασμόν, τὸ δὲ τέλος ζωῆν αἰώνιον*. Paul invariably takes *ζωή* in its full meaning of *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* to be the final and highest goal, the most costly gift of the grace of God in Christ, Rom. vi. 23 : *τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ, ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν* ; comp. ver. 21. *Δικαίωσις* in its full sense is with him a *δικαίωσις ζωῆς*. To live with Christ in the future, and to participate in His glory, is the highest object of His hope and longing, Rom. v. 5, 17, viii. 17 ; 2 Cor. xiii. 4. He lays special stress on the redemption and glorification of the body, Rom. viii. 23 ; Phil. iii. 21 ; 1 Cor. xv. 49, 53, etc.

By the appropriation of salvation in Christ the individual attains to a state of grace (Rom. v. 1, *χάριτι, ἐν ᾗ ἐστήκαμεν*). This state is simply a being apprehended of Christ, and conversely an apprehending of Him in faith (Phil. iii. 12), a description drawn entirely from the personal experience of the apostle in his conversion. As this new condition

is due to unmerited grace, so it remains always a boon and free gift of divine favour, never becoming an inseparable property, but requiring to be continually cherished in reverence, humility and faith (Rom. xi. 20 : *μη ὑψηλὰ φρόνει, ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ*; 1 Cor. vi. 19 : *οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐαυτῶν*). The import of a state of grace is *sonship to God*, peace and joy; believers are *free* from sin (*ἐλευθερία* as opposed to *δουλεία*, Gal. v. 1; 2 Cor. iii. 17; Rom. vi. 14, 22 : *ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, δουλωθέντες δὲ τῷ θεῷ*), free from the external letter and dominion of the law and its commands (Rom. vi. 14 : *οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ὑπὸ νόμον, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ χάριν*; vii. 6 : *κατηργήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου*; Gal. iii. 25 : *ἐλθούσης τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν*). Believers are children of God (*υἱοὶ θεοῦ*, Rom. viii. 14; Gal. iii. 26; Phil. ii. 15; *τέκνα θεοῦ*) by virtue of the spirit of adoption, *adoptio* (Rom. viii. 15 : *πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας*; Gal. iv. 7 : *οὐκέτι δούλος*). By virtue of sonship and freedom, and the love of God shed abroad in the heart (Rom. v. 5), which holds man in a firm embrace as it were (Rom. viii. 39), the soul is full of joy (Rom. xiv. 17; 2 Cor. i. 24, vi. 10; Phil. iii. 1, ii. 18, iv. 24), of moral strength, the certainty of victory and of life (Phil. iv. 13 : *πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με*; Rom. viii. 37, etc. : *ὑπερνικῶμεν διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς*; v. 3 : *ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσι*; 2 Cor. vi. 9, etc.). All these properties and gifts of the new life are gifts of grace, the fruits of true life-communion with Christ, inasmuch as the Lord Jesus, who was crucified and is alive, is *in us* (2 Cor. xiii. 5 : *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν*; Rom. viii. 10); that is to say, the divine-human personality of the Redeemer enters into the personality of man in

such a way that the former is the true living (Gal. ii. 20: ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγὼ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός), moving, speaking (2 Cor. xiii. 3: τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντος Χριστοῦ) and acting principle; the personality of the individual passes into that of Christ (which, however, is not to be taken in a pantheistic, but in an ideal and moral sense). The same truth is figuratively expressed by Paul as a putting on of Christ (Gal. iii. 27: Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε; Rom. xiii. 14: ἐνδύσασθε τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν), but without a figure by the more adequate expression which is very familiar with him: ἐν Χριστῷ (Rom. vi. 11: ζῶντας τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, and elsewhere), whereby the personality of Jesus is characterized as that into which human personality enters, so that Christ is as it were the place, the habitation, in which believers are and dwell at home—a life-communion that is not simply one of mind, but of essence (comp. Lipsius, *ante*, p. 581, etc.).

The essential power of this community of life between redeemed persons and the Redeemer, consists in *the Holy Ghost*. The origination of a state of grace in faith and justification, its continuance and growth in sanctification, its consummation in the glorification of the body—all is conditioned by the πνεῦμα ἅγιον (faith, above all believing confession, 1 Cor. xii. 3; comp. Gal. v. 5); prayer (Rom. viii. 15, 26); renewal and holiness of walk (Rom. viii. 14; Gal. v. 18, 25); future quickening of the body (Rom. viii. 11). This πνεῦμα, distinct from the human πνεῦμα (αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα in opposition to τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμῶν, Rom. viii. 16; comp. ver. 9, etc.), is πνεῦμα ἅγιον, *i.e.* remote from all that is ungodly, morally pure, belonging to God, effecting moral purity and

sanctification; in its basis *πνεῦμα θεοῦ* or *ἐκ θεοῦ* (Rom. viii. 9, etc.; 1 Cor. ii. 11, etc., xii. 3), wherefore God Himself dwells in those in whom the Holy Ghost is present (1 Cor. xiv. 25: *ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν*; comp. vi. 16; 1 Cor. iii. 16: *ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστὲ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν*). The same spirit is the spirit of Christ (Gal. iv. 6: *ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν*; comp. Rom. viii. 9, etc.). That the Holy Ghost is to be conceived as a person is clear from the fact that He has personal volition and may be personally grieved (1 Cor. xii. 11: *τὸ πνεῦμα διαιροῦν ἐκάστῳ—καθὼς βούλεται*; Eph. iv. 30: *μὴ λυπεῖτε τὸ πν. τὸ ἄγ. τοῦ θεοῦ*). Thus the divine Trinity consists in the three personalities: God, the Lord, and the Spirit, distinct in the work of salvation and yet One.

If any one have received the spirit (*λαμβάνειν*, Rom. viii. 15), have been anointed with it, *i.e.* consecrated (*χρίειν*, 2 Cor. i. 21), sealed with it (*σφραγίζειν*, Eph. i. 13, iv. 30), he is, as said above, free from the law, for the Mosaic law is in itself abolished by the atoning death; for us, for believers, it is for ever abolished with our entrance into the state of grace quickened by the Spirit (Gal. iii. 25). On the other hand, the law remains in the state of grace, first, so far as in its spiritual import it is verified and keeps its validity (Rom. vii. 12, 14: *ὁ νόμος ἅγιος—πνευματικός*); again, and chiefly, so far as it is fulfilled in its spiritual import (Rom. xiii. 10: *πλήρωμα νόμου ἢ ἀγάπη*; comp. ver. 8, etc.; Gal. v. 14), just as the new spiritual life by virtue of its inner and free legality is also called a νόμος (*ὁ νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, Gal. vi. 2; comp. *μὴ ὦν ἄνομος θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔννομος Χριστοῦ*, 1 Cor. ix. 21; Rom. viii. 2: *ὁ νόμος*

τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χρ. Ἰ.). Accordingly there is in the Mosaic law the transient and permanent, the transient so far as it is done away in its specific form, as an objective code outwardly expressed in the letter, meeting man with individual commands (Rom. x. 4: τέλος νόμου Χριστός); permanent so far as in its spiritual, ideal import and essence it is maintained as a rule of life by grace, and is properly realized and fulfilled. (Comp. the excellent discussion of Lipsius, *ante*, p. 85, etc. Ritschl, *allkathol. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 101, etc.) In this sense Paul rightly answers the question: νόμον οὐν καταργούμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως, by μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ νόμον ἰσχύνομεν, Rom. iii. 31.

II. THE CHURCH OF GOD.

When the exalted Saviour appeared to Saul and called to him: "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," He bore testimony to His personal life-communion with believers, to whom nothing can happen without affecting Him also. When Paul became a disciple of Jesus he entered the community of His believing disciples which already existed. The more remote in feeling his former position with respect to this community, the deeper and more fully he now apprehended its character.

The communion of individuals with Christ in faith, the life of Christ in them, forms the basis, according to Paul, of the communion of believers one with another. By faith they are allied one with another, and are all one in Christ Jesus (Gal. iii. 28); through Christ, the first-born among the brethren, they are

brethren together, thus forming one family, one brotherhood. Whoever offends the soul and conscience of his brother offends Christ Himself, who died for his sake, 1 Cor. viii. 11-13, vi. 5, etc.; 2 Cor. i. 7, ix. 13. Believers therefore as brethren form a union, the Church of God or Christ, ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ, Gal. i. 13; 1 Cor. x. 32, xv. 9. Paul represents believers as a collective whole under the figure of a building, particularly a temple, 1 Cor. iii. 9, 16; Eph. ii. 29, etc.; but the figure he prefers is that of a body (1 Cor. x. 17: ἐν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν), viz. the body of Christ, a name "infinite in depth and yet transparently clear, both bodily and spiritual, objective and subjective, open and mysterious at the same time" (Delitzsch). This image he carries out in detail, 1 Cor. xii. 12; Rom. xii. 4, etc.; Eph. i. 22, etc.; Col. i. 18, 24, ii. 19; Christ is the head of the body (comp. Eph. v. 23). He is the soul of the community, from Him their life-power emanates, and by Him they are ruled. Again, as the body is *one* but has many different members, so believers are closely and essentially joined together in faith, partly one with another and partly with the *one* head. They serve one another and work together as members one of another, so that the diversity of spiritual gifts, the multiplicity of offices in the Church (1 Cor. xii. 4, etc., 14), and the variety of stages with respect to faith and knowledge (Rom. xiii. 14), do not hinder, but rather promote that unity.

That this community of Christ, the Church of God, is dependent in its origin purely on the grace of God, on His decree before time and the operation of His grace in time, is a thought which Paul frequently urges with great emphasis. It was too closely bound

up with his own experience ever to disappear from his memory or his teaching. The fact that he has attained to faith in the Son of God, and has become a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ, rests solely on the good pleasure of God (Gal. i. 15, etc.), who has chosen and ordained him to this end (*ὁ ἀφορίσας με*) from his birth (*ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου*), and has in His own time actually called him by grace through the word (*καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ*), having revealed His Son in him. All this proceeded from free grace and pity, since he himself had formerly persecuted the Church of God; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 9. This personal experience led him to the perception of the divine choice, the free purpose of grace, so that he traces back all salvation, the entrance of every individual into the communion of Christ and His Church, as well as the incorporation of whole races and nationalities into the Church of God, to the eternal decree of grace and of God's good pleasure; human agency receding far into the background. The fact that by the Church "the manifold wisdom of God" was now to be made known, is ascribed by the apostle (Eph. iii. 11, etc.) to "the eternal purpose of God,"—to the *πρόθεσις τῶν αἰώνων ἣν ἐποίησεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν*; and in Eph. i. 4, etc., he extols God who blessed us in Christ: *καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. — προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἰοθεσίαν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ*. This eternal purpose of selection, in its independence of human agency, of human relations, and human estimate, is variously expressed (Rom. ix. 11: *οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος*; comp. 1 Cor. i. 27: *τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου — τὰ ἀσθενῆ —*

τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ). In the apostle's view, believers are οἱ κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοί, Rom. viii. 28; at the same time he unfolds the divine decree, as it were in various acts; in the προγιγνώσκειν and in the προορίζειν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ (viii. 29), or in the ἐκλέξασθαι and προορίζειν εἰς υἰοθεσίαν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς αὐτόν, Eph. i. 4, etc.¹

¹ The clause οὓς πρόγνω καὶ προώρισεν, etc., in Rom. viii. 29, has by many expositors been made the occasion of introducing into the doctrine of the apostle the idea of divine prescience of the free decision of each individual for or against the offer of grace, for or against faith; by the Church Fathers, for example, even Augustine, and among recent expositors Tholuck, van Hengel, Weiss (*bibl. Theol.* p. 356, etc.), Meyer (*Comm.* 6th ed.), Godet. But the exposition which finds in the προγιγνώσκειν the divine prescience of that disposition on which God has made His selection dependent, whether it be love to God, or whether it be faith ("quos credituros prævidit," Calov.), is doubly at fault. In the first place it destroys the connection. The aim of the apostle is to set forth clearly the assurance of salvation for those who are called and chosen, consolatory in spite of all inward sighing. But the firm chain of the divine decrees and operations of grace would be broken by the above interpretation of πρόγνω, and everything would be reduced to an unaccountable self-decision of human freedom. Besides, this interpretation misapprehends the biblical conception of πρόγνωσις, προγιγνώσκειν, which, in conformity with the usage of γνώ, lovingly to know, to recognise, denote foreknowledge. In this respect we agree with Pfeiderer (p. 248, etc.), Lorenz (p. 94, etc.), and can only admit that the passages adduced as a counter-proof by Weiss (*N. T. Theol.* p. 366, note 7), viz. Rom. xi. 2, Gal. iv. 9, 1 Pet. i. 20, speak in favour of our interpretation. In Peter προγνωσμένος certainly involves the idea of decree, not of mere prescience. In Rom. xi. 2 the conception of the gracious choice of Israel can only be set aside by artificial means; and in Gal. iv. 9 γνωσθέντις ὑπὸ θεοῦ corresponds exactly to the Old Testament γνώ, used of God as a loving perception and recognition. In viii. 29 πρόγνω is the gracious choice, προώρισις is the appointment to divine sonship, to the image of Christ, that follows from it.

It is in the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans that the apostle asserts most fully and decidedly the unconditional character of God's choice. His object here is to reconcile with the honour of God, the exclusion of so many Israelites from the people of God's new covenant, and in particular to show that neither the veracity and fidelity of God in the fulfilment of His promise to Israel nor His justice is thereby impugned. To this end, Paul emphatically draws attention to the circumstance that the procedure of God in the promises of the old covenant and in the establishment of His people, was absolutely independent of the claims of birth or the personal conduct of the individual, vv. 6-13, especially ver. 11. He then replies to the objection that this is an unjust procedure: by no means! for no man has any rightful claim to God's mercy and grace; "He hath mercy on whom He will, and whom He will He hardeneth;" hence there can be no question of injustice, vv. 14-18. Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, i. p. 214, etc.) tries to soften the apparent harshness of the statement borrowed from Ex. xxiii. 19: ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, etc., by contending that the relative ὃς ἂν does not imply selection, according to which it is not God's choice of those on whom He will have mercy, but the mercy itself which is characterized as a free act on His part. But this is erroneous; ὃς ἂν with the conjunction has undeniably the meaning of *quicumque*; Hofmann himself (p. 217) silently concedes this by attaching importance to the fact that in ver. 18 the words are not ὃν ἂν θέλη, but ὃν θέλει. The attempts to take from τίς ἀνθέστηκεν, in ver. 19, the meaning: "who can withstand God?"—and from κατηγορησμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν, in ver. 22, the

meaning: "fitted (by God) to destruction," and to attribute to them the sense of being prepared for destruction apart from divine agency, seem to us to be equally unsuccessful. Only by far-fetched interpretation and much ingenuity can the simple, overpowering fact be set aside that the apostle in this section, chiefly in vv. 11-15 and 18-22, asserts the decree of God with respect to salvation and reprobation as absolutely unconditioned. Far be it from us, however, to attribute to the Apostle Paul a doctrine of election and predestination which would make the freedom of God appear as arbitrariness, the freedom of man as a delusion, and human personality as a mere instrument for the revelation of divine attributes. Here particularly we must explain one Scripture by another, and take into consideration the following circumstances:—(1) That the apostle emphatically asserts personal freedom, accountability and guilt, not only in his other Epistles and in remote passages, but also in Rom. x. in the closest connection with the matter which occupies him in chap. ix. How grand his teaching with respect to the value of the individual in the sight of God, and the importance of the person! (2) We must take into account that Paul when he denies to man all right to the grace and pity of God (vv. 15, 18), when he asserts the unlimited power of God (ver. 21, etc.) to make men vessels of wrath or of grace, assumes that the human race is infected with sin and guilt, so that destruction is the absolutely just thing, and grace an unconditional free gift, to which no claim exists; comp. J. Müller, *von der Sünde*, i. p. 535, etc. (3) Paul here sets out with the idea, which is absolutely true, that the individual Israelite has no inviolable

right to the kingdom of God by virtue of descent from the patriarchs, nor by virtue of any merit in himself so that God *must* be gracious to him. In order completely to overthrow this perverted notion, he confronts it with the unlimited right of God to do as He pleases (comp. Meyer, *Comm.* 2nd ed. p. 310, etc.). (4) The apostle is not writing a system of doctrine, but letters which have a practical aim; hence although, as occasion arises, occupying various standpoints apparently inconsistent one with another (comp. Baur, *Paulus*, pp. 353, 641, etc., 2nd ed. ii. p. 282, etc.), he has no interest in carefully fixing the respective limits of different truths and accurately defining their relation, especially where the question is one of ideas such as human freedom, divine infinitude, etc., of which in these days of "piecework" it is impossible satisfactorily to examine the points of agreement.¹

The sequel of eternal predestination is *calling*, Rom. viii. 30 : οὗς δὲ προώρισε, τούτους καὶ ἐκάλεσε. Hence those who are chosen of God (Rom. viii. 33 ; Col. iii. 12) are said also to be called κλητοί, Rom. i. 7. The calling itself, the *καλεῖν*, takes place through the *word*, preached by those who are sent out ; heard and accepted by those whom God has chosen, and whose hearts He enlightens, Rom. x. 17, etc. : ἄρα ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς· ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος θεοῦ ; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 1, etc., i. 21 ; Gal. iii. 2. The gospel, the "word of Christ," is therefore the means

¹ Comp. the excellent observations on Rom. ix.-xi. by Bonifas (*L'Unité de l'enseignement ap.* p. 112, etc., *e.g.* p. 114, etc.) : " Paul n'est pas ici un philosophe qui déduit scientifiquement des formules de métaphysique ; c'est un avocat qui plaide la cause de Dieu, et qui, dans l'entraînement de l'action, rencontre une comparaison hardie qu'il ne prétend nullement élever à la hauteur d'un principe absolu."

by which a soul is drawn into communion with God and Christ. Moreover, *καλεῖν* is not only to be understood externally, but comprehends the internal "drawing of the Father to the Son," the whole prevenient operation of grace in itself; comp. Lipsius, *ante*, p. 39, etc.

Reception into the communion of Christ, or the putting on of Christ, takes place through *baptism*, which Paul never treats merely as an external act, but as a spiritual-corporeal act. "By one spirit are we all baptized into one body," 1 Cor. xii. 13. Baptism is a *Χριστὸν ἐνδύσασθαι*, Gal. iii. 27; a *λουτρὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι*, an *ἀπολούσασθαι*, *ἀγιασθῆναι*, and *δικαιωθῆναι*, Eph. v. 26; 1 Cor. vi. 11; and since baptism is immersion into the communion of Christ, it is especially a baptism into His death, Rom. vi. 3; Col. ii. 12, etc.

The "Lord's Supper" is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, 1 Cor. x. 16. In its nature it is not limited to an act of remembrance (*εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, xi. 24, etc.), in which case it would be simply a commemoration, inasmuch as believers show the Lord's death till He come (xi. 26: *καταγγέλλειν*), but it is *κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος* — *τοῦ σώματος Χριστοῦ*, x. 16; *i.e.* it brings us into actual communion with Christ, real participation in His body and blood. Just as those who offer sacrifice to idols, and partake of the flesh of the offerings, put themselves by this means in actual communion with demons, so the *τράπεζα κυρίου* is an actual communion with the body and blood of Christ. For this reason, whosoever taketh the bread and the cup unworthily, not discerning the Lord's body, sins against Christ, eats and drinks condemnation to

himself, and makes himself guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. The apostle takes the Lord's Supper as a sign, and at the same time a means of promoting the close communion of believers among themselves, 1 Cor. x. 17: εἰς ἄρτος, ἐν σῶμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν.¹

In the Church of believers who have been called by virtue of the eternal decree, and incorporated by baptism into the communion of Christ, and who maintain their connection with the Lord and the brethren by the Eucharist, all distinctions and oppositions that exist outside the Church are removed and reconciled. There is neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, neither Jew nor Greek, Gal. iii. 28; 1 Cor. xii. 13; Rom. ix. 24. The latter in particular, viz. the removal of the opposition between Jew and Gentile, is a fundamental principle to which Paul frequently reverts, by virtue of that peculiar vocation which he had as an apostle of the

¹ The fundamental thought in 1 Cor. x. 16, that "the cup of blessing is the communion of the blood of Christ, the bread which we break the communion of the body of Christ," is in agreement with the words of institution in xi. 24, etc.: τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα, etc. Holsten, indeed, maintains, *Ev. des Paulus*, i. p. 329, etc., note, that the apostle refers "not to the relation of the individual to Christ, but to the relation of individuals to one another, as brought about by their common participation of the body and blood of Christ." But this itself is a concession that Paul does in fact bear testimony to a union of believers with the blood of Christ. It is not necessary either to disturb the train of thought in the passage, or to substitute μετέχουσιν for κοινωνοῦν, in order to find in the apostle's sacrament the expression of a real participation in the body and blood of Christ, in agreement with Heinrici, *Kor. brief.* p. 271, etc., and Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 337. Pfeleiderer's assurance, p. 237, that actual participation of the body and blood of Christ is not spoken of, is irrelevant because of the expression in ver. 16.

Gentiles. He has shown that there is no essential difference with respect to sinfulness between the two groups (Rom. iii. 9). To both he preaches Christ the crucified One, as the power of God and the wisdom of God, although this preaching in itself is alike repugnant to both, for the crucified One is to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the Greeks foolishness, 1 Cor. i. 23, etc. But he also insists on the experimental fact that the gospel is the power of God to every one that believes, to the Jew and to the Gentile, Rom. i. 16. The *heathen*, who were formerly strangers to the covenant of God, without hope and without God in the world, are now made nigh through Christ, by the death of Him who hath slain enmity and broken down the middle wall of partition; are now by the gospel made partakers in Christ of the promise of Abraham and Israel, and by the work of atonement united and reconciled to the Israelites who were formerly separated from them; both becoming *one* new man, Eph. ii. 11, iii. 6, etc.; Gal. iii. 14. Doubtless the Jews had, apart from the gospel, many great advantages over the Gentiles, for to them the oracles of God were entrusted, Rom. iii. 2: "To whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came," Rom. ix. 4, 5. Abraham is the type of faith, and all believers walk in his footsteps, Gal. iii.; Rom. iv. 12. Israel is and remains the original root of the Church of Christ, Rom. xi. 16, etc. — Within the Church of Christ, however, the Israelites have no advantage over the heathen as regards participation in Christ and the salvation of the individual (Rom. x. 12: *οὐ γὰρ ἐστι*

διαστολή Ἰουδαίου τε καὶ Ἑλληνος). The law on which they prided themselves belongs only to the weak, beggarly elements of the world, Gal. iv. 2, 9; it was only a taskmaster to bring them to Christ, iii. 24, but is now done away, for Christ is the τέλος νόμου, Rom. x. 4. Nevertheless, Israel as a nation has still a future in the kingdom of God; if the mass, through blind error and confidence in their law, now refuse to believe, their refusal turns to the salvation of the Gentiles; but this opposition will at some future time be done away, and Israel again be grafted into the olive tree from which it was broken off, Rom. xi. In this chapter Paul shows that the partial exclusion of Israel at that time from the Church of Christ was not the last word, the final will of God, but rather that in this nation and by its means a great purpose of grace should be carried out.

1. In the future, when the fulness of the Gentiles shall have come into the Church of God, Israel as a nation will be converted, will be reconciled to God and saved (ver. 25, etc.; comp. vv. 12, 15, 23, 31).

2. Converted Israel will then be the means of bringing about the greatest salvation to humanity (v. 12, 15).—We have taken these two main propositions in their widest possible sense; but one point of dispute still remains to be more closely defined. The period of the fulfilment of this event is in ver. 25 characterized as ἄχρις οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ. But what is meant by “until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in”? Does it mean that all individual heathen must be incorporated into the Church of Christ before the obduracy of Israel comes to an end? No; for, judging from the know-

ledge of mankind shown by the apostle elsewhere, we cannot credit him with the visionary expectation that every individual would be converted. *πλήρωμα* rather denotes the Gentile nations (*τὰ ἔθνη* as opposed to *ὁ Ἰσραήλ*) as an abstract whole, not the full complement of individuals, since the thought contained in ver. 12, viz. that the conversion of the fulness of Israel should redound to the salvation of the world, presupposes the actual existence at that time of a mass of unconverted heathen individuals. At the time appointed, known only to God, Israel as a nation in its totality (*πᾶς Ἰσραήλ*, ver. 26) will be saved, for its obduracy will cease (through grace, comp. ver. 31: *ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεθῶσιν*); the nation will be converted, accepted again by God, and once more grafted into the Church of God, of which Israel is in fact the root (ver. 15: *πρόσλημψις*; ver. 23, etc.: *πάλιν ἐγκεντρισθήσονται τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐλαίᾳ*).

With respect to the *second* proposition, the question arises—(a) What is *τὸ πλήρωμα* of Israel, spoken of in ver. 11? Without doubt this idea forms the antithesis to *πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν* in ver. 25. Just as this latter denotes the full number of the Gentile nations (but not the full number of all heathen individuals), so the *πλ. αὐτῶν* in ver. 12 denotes the fulness of Israel as a whole = *πᾶς Ἰσραήλ*, ver. 25, from which individuals may possibly be omitted. This is in the main Tholuck's view, while Rückert's theory of the restoration of Israel to the place belonging to it, and Philippi's of the filling up of the gap in the kingdom of God which has arisen through the unbelief of the Israelites, are linguistically inadmissible. The fact that the conversion of the Israelitish nations will tend to the blessing and salva-

tion of humanity is confessedly declared in ver. 12, in the words: πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῶν, as supplemented by the context (comp. Baur, *Paulus*, 2nd ed. ii. p. 285, etc.), a conclusion from the less to the greater. The corresponding question in ver. 15 is more disputed: εἰ — ἡ ἀποβολὴ αὐτῶν καταλλαγὴ κόσμου, τίς ἢ πρόσληψις εἰ μὴ ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν; Against the theory that the restoration of Israel implies the resurrection of the dead in its literal sense, preferred by most recent expositors (de Wette, Rückert, 2nd ed.; Baur, *ante*, ii. 286; Meyer and Hofmann, Pfeleiderer, p. 253; Lorenz, p. 178), we have two objections to make—(a) a linguistic one, viz. that if the expression referred to the resurrection of the dead as an acknowledged fact, the article would not be omitted; (b) an actual one, viz. that by this means the parallelism of thought between “the reconciling of the world,” *i.e.* of the Gentiles standing at a distance from the kingdom of God, and the resurrection of the dead, would be completely lost, whereas the context absolutely requires it. We take the words in a spiritual sense, with Melancthon, Bengel, and Godet; the restoration of the people of Israel will not only help the reconciliation of the Gentiles, but will even produce life where all is dead, *i.e.* awaken and quicken what is morally and spiritually dead in humanity. Bengel says: sermo est de vivificatione totius: ut non sit residua massa mortua. Totius generis humani sive mundi conversio comitabitur conversionem Israël. To Meyer’s objection, that in this case nothing higher than καταλλαγὴ is expressed, we answer: Awakening from spiritual death, from a state of deadness, is certainly more than the reconciliation of an enemy, while on the

other hand *καταλλαγή* and *ζωή* form a genuine Pauline gradation ; comp. Rom. v. 10. Hence, when the period of Gentile Christianity has run its course, when the people of Israel have been converted and received into the Church of Christ, a new life of humanity will burst forth.

Paul rises even above humanity in his conception of the kingdom of Christ (Col. i. 13), and includes the higher *spiritual world* also. Christ is with him the head, not only of the Church, but of all creatures, of all spirits (Col. ii. 10) : *ἡ κεφαλὴ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας*. It is God's purpose that Christ should be *ἐν πᾶσι πρωτεύων*. It is His good pleasure by Christ to reconcile all things unto Himself, whether things in earth or things in heaven, Col. i. 18, etc. ; comp. Eph. i. 10 : "That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth ;" Phil. ii. 10 ; a further evidence of the apostle's grand, all-comprehending conception of the kingdom of God.

III. THE CONSUMMATION, OR THE KINGDOM OF GLORY.

The apostle's doctrine of last things rests on the fundamental facts, the death and resurrection of Jesus. "If we believe (*i.e.* so certainly as we believe) that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him" (1 Thess. iv. 14). The apostle here makes these two fundamental facts, which on all occasions form the poles of his apostolic preaching (1 Cor. xv. 3, etc.), viz. the death and resurrection of Jesus, the basis of the believer's hope. As in this, the earliest of his

Epistles, he makes the hope of the Christian rest on the death and resurrection of Jesus, so does he also in his later, *e.g.* 1 Cor. xv. 20, comp. Col. i. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 14, comp. ver. 10, etc. The death and future life of believers are here referred to the death and life of Jesus as their prototype and cause. Col. iii. 4 is in harmony with the last of these passages: "When Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory;" comp. Rom. viii. 11. While the former passages refer to the death and resurrection of Jesus, His ascension is associated with His second coming in Phil. iii. 20, etc.: "From heaven we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body," etc.; comp. Col. i. 5. From these expressions it follows that the *second coming of Christ* (ἡ παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1 Cor. xv. 23) is to be regarded as the centre of the Pauline doctrine of the consummation and end. The following questions then arise: When? Wherefore?

With respect to *time*, Paul constantly refers to the second coming of Christ as "the day of Christ" (1 Cor. i. 8, v. 5; 2 Cor. i. 14; comp. 1 Cor. iii. 13; Rom. xiii. 11, and other passages). The apostle speaks of this "day of the Lord" as an event which he himself, with most of his contemporaries, might probably still live to see, 1 Cor. xv. 52: ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα; Rom. xiii. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 29: ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν, the time is short; comp. x. 11. In opposition to these words, Usteri (*Entw. des Paulin. Lehrbegriffs*, p. 355) quotes two other passages, viz. Phil. i. 21, etc., where the apostle's hope of living to see the second coming of Jesus is already mixed with doubt; and 2 Tim. iv. 6, etc.,

where he regards such a contingency as quite improbable. But in the former of these passages he has in view the uncertain issue of his suit; and in the latter the end of his life is more immediately present with him. The circumstance is therefore very easily explained, and we have no right to assume a change in the apostle's views. Elsewhere the second coming is certainly farther removed. According to Rom. xi. 25, etc., the nation of Israel in its entirety will not be converted until the fulness of the Gentiles has first been incorporated in the Church of Christ; and without doubt these two events must be regarded as antecedent to the second coming, according to which the latter would be far distant, if it did not appear from Rom. x. 18 and Col. i. 23, that Paul assumes a wide diffusion of the gospel as having already taken place (comp. Löhe, *Drei Bücher von der Kirche*, p. 38, etc.).

The *purpose* of the second coming of Jesus is in general referred only to believers. Believers will be the gainers by this second coming, for the dead in Christ shall rise first, then those who are still alive shall be changed (1 Cor. xv. 52), both being clothed with a glorified body. In Phil. iii. 21, where the transformation of the body is ascribed to the efficacy of Christ, it is referred to both alike, which is not expressly the case in the other two passages.

In 1 Cor. xv. Paul treats fully of the doctrine of the resurrection, discussing two leading points: first, the *fact* of a future resurrection, vv. 12-34; second, the *manner* of it, vv. 35-38. He establishes the fact or the certainty of resurrection, in opposition to those by whom it is denied, by the resurrection of Christ; that fundamental fact of salvation

in Christ, that leading theme of apostolic preaching (ver. 14, etc.). From this he concludes that (a) resurrection, having actually taken place in Christ's case, is therefore possible in itself, vv. 13-19; (b) but now Christ, as the first-fruits of an era of life and resurrection, is risen from the dead, wherefore His resuscitation guarantees and involves the future resurrection of His people, ver. 20, etc.¹ The apostle illustrates the *manner* of the resurrection by a reference to analogous phenomena in nature, viz. (a) to the death and quickening of the grain of seed, vv. 36-38; (b) to the multiplicity and variety of bodies throughout creation, vv. 39-41. He then goes on to say that the resurrection body will be incorruptible (vv. 42, 53, etc.), glorious and powerful (ver. 43), a spiritual body (vv. 44-46) from heaven (vv. 47-49); whereas the mortal body is corruptible, uncomely, weak, psychical, having its origin in the earth. The fact of the resurrection body being a spiritual one, means that it does not consist, like the present body, of matter; but it has nevertheless a true corporeal nature, only that it is homogeneous with the spirit, and is completely

¹ Usteri, *Paulinischer Lehrbegriff*, p. 364, etc., makes the argument turn on the presupposed natural affinity of Christ's nature with that of man, on "the law of species," which, however, has no foundation in the context; for this, as W. Georgii rightly remarks, rather points out that in Christ the risen One a new element has by God's grace entered into humanity, which, as a principle, must continue to operate and make itself felt in humanity. Comp. Baur, *Paulus*, 2nd ed. ii. 239: "The resurrection of Christ is in nowise an act of God having reference to Himself alone, the same principle which has realized itself in Him must also be realized in all other men," etc. It is not a natural union of life, but one between Christ and believers, bestowed by God's grace in the new creation, which assures us of the resurrection, Christ having risen again. Comp. Heinrici, *1 Kor.* p. 490, etc.

penetrated by the spirit.¹ This change will be instantaneous (ver. 52). It is the ἀπολύτρωσις τοῦ σώματος, the redemption of the body from its liability to death and decay. Of the heavenly origin of the resurrection body, only indicated in 1 Cor. xv. 47, etc., Paul speaks more fully in 2 Cor. v. 1-4: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven; if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Now He that hath wrought us for the self-same thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit."

In iv. 7, etc., the apostle enumerates those things by which he himself and other servants of Jesus Christ are strengthened and comforted under all oppression from without, as well as in distressing experiences and the consciousness of decreasing vitality (ver. 16). The sustaining power in all this is the constant renewal of the inward man, eternal glory made only more certain by affliction, the unseen and eternal on which his gaze was continually fixed (iv. 16-18). He then declares (v. 1, etc.) his expectation in death, viz. a life by

¹ When Ernesti, *ante*, p. 123, etc., note, pronounces this resurrection "the *dark point* in Paul's doctrine of immortality," we shall not dispute what he says; though to us it appears rather that a luminous point lies in the fact of the apostle having constantly in view the whole man, and not mistaking the spiritual-corporeal nature of life, but putting the completion of the work of grace in the final reanimation of the body.

which even that which is mortal in his person will be swallowed up (ver. 4); in death he looks for a heavenly body from God, instead of his present earthly body; the longing of the spirit in anticipation of death, and under the burden of the life of the body, is not to put off the mortal body in death, but to be able immediately to put on the heavenly body. The section contains many and important difficulties, linguistic as well as material. But nevertheless we feel bound to maintain with firmness that the question is not of a body for the intermediate state between death and resurrection, distinct from the resurrection body (Auberlen), for we have no indication of any such distinction; but of the final body, that which is given through transmutation. We therefore reject Hofmann's interpretation, *ante*, ii. 2. 439, etc., according to which *οἰκοδομή, οἰκία ἀχειροποίητος αἰώνιος ἐν τ. οὐρ.* is not a body, but the house of God in heaven, as at variance with the context, for it is quite clear that one *οἰκία* is in opposition and parallelism with the other, a *σκήνος* with the *οἰκοδομή*; it is just as certain that the *οἰκοδομή*, etc., is a body, as that the *οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους* is a body and not an actual habitation; moreover, if Paul had wished to express the meaning attributed to him, he must have said *οἰκίαν—αἰώνιον τῶν οὐρανῶν* (comp. ver. 5: *ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πν.*), instead of *ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*. Neither the *ἀχειροπ.*, which is used solely for the sake of antithesis to *σκήνος*, and bears testimony to the immediate divine origin of the future body, while if pressed it is certainly lame; nor yet the *ἔχομεν* (*praesens*), which expresses the certainty of hope regarding the presence of the future body with the eternal God, can compel us to accept that interpretation. But the

explanation of the ἐν τούτῳ στενάζομεν, as referring to the prospect of death (the καταλυθῆναι in ver. 1), appears to have been rightly conceived by Hofmann, so that the groanings are forced out *here* by the certainty of death, but in ver. 4 by the burden of the life-body; hence the longings for the new heavenly corporeity are awakened by the twofold experiences of the present. On the other hand, we must protest with all emphasis against Hofmann's interpretation (p. 442, etc.) of ver. 3. He and Auberlen, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1825, p. 710, explain ἐνδυσάμενοι of a *moral* process, γυμνός of a *moral* state, the former of the "putting on of Christ," the latter of *moral* nakedness (Rev. iii. 17); without any justification in the context, where ἐκδύσασθαι, ἐνδύσασθαι, ἐπενδύσασθαι, and consequently γυμνός, like οἰκία and kindred words, are always to be understood of corporeity. The leading position is (comp. Rückert): εἴπερ οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθησόμεθα, we long to be clothed upon with the house which is from heaven, on the assumption, namely, that (when the Lord comes) we shall not be found naked, *i.e.* without a body,—a thought which Paul, with his decided spiritual-corporeal view, may have had cogent reasons for asserting in opposition to an Hellenic philosophic *fastidium corporis*. Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 12. Καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι is therefore a more exact definition of the previous clause, "if so be that being clothed" (namely, in the new heavenly body). It is true the ἐνδυσις could not be taken for its contrary the γυμνότης (Meyer), and the addition of καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι appears tautological; yet we cannot venture, with Rückert, to prefer the reading ἐκδυσάμενοι, in defiance of all established principles of criticism, but we justify the expression by assuming that the

apostle wished to emphasize the truth that even when the great change has taken place, and we are clothed in another garment of the soul, we shall never be quite without a body. Consequently, even under the burden of the body and of life, it is not our desire to be quite divested of all corporeity, but to be clothed upon with a garment of the soul that shall not exclude all corporeity, but only swallow up that which is mortal. The thought of an intermediate state between death and the resurrection is not expressed here, because Paul hoped to live to see the second coming, and therefore to experience a change and to be clothed upon (1 Cor. xv. 52, etc.).

In all the statements which we have hitherto considered, nothing has been said of the state intervening between death and the resurrection. But when Paul considered himself near death, he looked also at the state immediately after death, apart from the resurrection. In Phil. i. 21, etc., he expresses the desire : *ἀναλύσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι*, and in 2 Cor. v. 8 he already confesses it would be his choice : *ἐκδημήσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐνδημήσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον*. In both passages he appears to give utterance to his hope that he would be with the Lord immediately after death. Weitzel indeed objects ("Urchristliche Unsterblichkeitslehre," *Stud. u. Krit.* 1836, p. 954, etc.) that the association of the *ἀναλύσαι* and *ἐκδημήσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος* on the one hand, with *σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι* and *ἐνδημήσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον* on the other hand, does not imply that one state is always followed by the other. But the repeated double formula : *ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου*, ver. 6, and *ἐκδημήσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἰνδημήσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον*, can

only be understood to mean that absence from the body implies in itself a presence of the soul with the Lord, a far closer communion with Christ than the present life of the body admits; so also Phil. i. 23. This does not, however, invalidate the fact that the change of the body into the likeness of Christ's glorified body (Phil. iii. 21), comp. the πάντοτε σὺν κυρίῳ εἶναι, 1 Thess. iv. 17, expected at the second coming of Jesus, is something more complete than the communion of the departed soul with Christ before His return and the resurrection.

Reference is generally made only to the raising up of *believers*; but the reappearance of Christ has also the *universal judgment* for its object. In relation to the second coming we frequently find the judgment of wrath on the ungodly associated with the redemption of the pious by way of contrast, *e.g.* Rom. ii. 5-13, 16, ix. 22, etc.; 2 Cor. v. 10; Gal. vi. 7-9, where φθορά and ζωὴ αἰώνιος are connected with καιρὸς ἴδιος, the definite period of the sifting harvest, viz. the judgment of the world. This judgment naturally presupposes a *universal* resurrection including the ungodly, of whom, however, Paul makes no express mention; for where he speaks of the resurrection, we see plainly from the context that he has in view those only who belong to Christ and are asleep in Him, *e.g.* 1 Cor. xv. 23, etc. Paul here distinguishes three stages or divisions (τάγματα)—first, ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, the resurrection of Jesus as the first-fruits of the dead; second, οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, viz. at His second coming only those who are His, who sleep in Him, will rise again; third, εἶτα τὸ τέλος, ver. 24, *i.e.* not quite the end of the *resurrection* (Bengel, Meyer,

Osiander); for this limitation lies neither in the expression nor in the context, but τὸ τέλος is the absolute consummation, which presupposes or involves the universal resurrection and judgment.¹ Comp. de Wette, Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 61. Paul certainly does not state that a period intervenes (Hofmann, *ante*, ii. 2. 603) between the resurrection of believers at the second coming of Jesus and the end itself (the last judgment); but, on the other hand, he says nothing to exclude this idea. The consummation takes place (according to vv. 24–28) when Christ delivers up the kingdom to God the Father, for Christ must reign until He has subdued all enemies or destroyed all hostile Satanic powers in the visible and invisible world (ver. 24, etc.).

This brings us to the important idea of the future *kingdom of glory*. The whole connection of the latter passage, more especially the analogy of the interval between the resurrection of Jesus and that of His people, leads to the inference that a certain space of time intervened also between the second coming of Christ and the τέλος. In this interval

¹ Holsten, *Ev. des Paulus*, i. 420, etc., understands τέλος to be the end of this sinful and corrupt world. He is not just to the positive and teleological aspect of the τέλος. Heinrici, 1 *Kor.* p. 500, etc., is right in emphasizing the fact that in this connection the attention is directed to the mediatorial office of Christ; hence he understands τὸ τέλος of the completion of the whole work of Christ. When Holsten, p. 420, note *, declares that to understand τέλος of the resurrection of non-Christians violates the definite statement of the apostle, he is only right so far as he has interpreters like van Hengel in view, who explain τέλος directly of the final act of the resurrection; but he is not right so far as τέλος is made to refer simply to the completion of Christ's work, though admitting that it includes the general resurrection and judgment (comp. Rom. ii. 5 etc., esp. ver. 16; 2 Cor. v. 10).

Christ reigns (ver. 25) after He has visibly appeared from heaven on the earth, after He has awakened His sleeping ones and caught them up into heaven. His rule, however, is not without strife, but in glory and might, in and with His own who live henceforward on the earth. A number of statements in the Epistles of the apostle point to this "kingdom of glory," if we simply look for them. On this eschatological point all the Epistles are likewise most in harmony. This βασιλεία is the final aim of effectual calling; 1 Thess. ii. 12: ὁ καλῶν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν καὶ δόξαν, *i.e.* to the δόξα of the future Messianic kingdom. It is this "kingdom of glory" from which the unrighteous and impure are shut out (1 Cor. vi. 9; Gal. v. 21; Eph. v. 5), which flesh and blood cannot inherit (1 Cor. xv. 50). In these four passages we constantly find the expression: ἔχειν κληρονομίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ, or more briefly: βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομεῖν. But even where this twofold expression is divided, either κληρονομία alone being employed, especially in connection with δόξα (Eph. i. 14, 18; comp. Rom. viii. 17), or βασιλεύειν alone (Rom. v. 17, 21), we believe they refer to that blessed and glorious kingdom of God and Christ in which believers shall reign after having suffered with Christ (Rom. v. 17: ἐν ζωῇ βασιλεύσουσιν).¹

¹ The turn which the apostle here takes, not carrying the parallel strictly through, and making the apodosis: ἐν ζωῇ βασιλεύσουσιν, follow the protasis: ὁ θάνατος ἐβασίλευσεν, has been finely and spiritedly explained by Godet when he says: "The apostle has too lively a feeling for spiritual realities to say here: life will reign, death reigns, he is a tyrant. But life does not reign, it has no subjects; it makes kings. It is individuals themselves who have personally appropriated righteousness, and now reign personally in the luminous region of life."

That kingdom of Christ, which begins with His second coming and the resurrection of His own (1 Cor. xv. 23), is not yet the consummation itself. The consummation of the work of Christ (*τὸ τέλος*) does not take place until Christ delivers up the kingdom to God the Father. For since Christ must reign till He has subdued all His enemies (ver. 25), it is clear that during the kingdom which begins with His second coming there still remain enemies to be subdued. The fully achieved victory, the pure, perfect, blessed kingdom of God, begins with the general resurrection and the judgment of the world, frequently mentioned by Paul as *ἡμέρα ὀργῆς καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ*, Rom. ii. 5, etc.; comp. 1 Cor. xi. 32: *κατακρίνεσθαι σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ*. The judgment is accomplished by Christ, Rom. ii. 16: *ἡμέρα ἣ κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς — διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*; 2 Cor. v. 10, *βῆμα Χριστοῦ*; but the saints of God also will have an active part in the judgment (1 Cor. vi. 2: *οὐκ οἶδατε, ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσιν*¹). The secret thoughts of the heart will then be brought to light,—an assertion made more than once by Paul, Rom. ii. 16; 2 Cor. iv. 5. When, by way of argument, he reminds believers, 1 Cor. vi. 3: *ὅτι ἀγγέλους κρινοῦμεν*, this is connected, on the one hand, with the idea that Christ will put an end to all hostile powers (even the spirit-world): *πάσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πάσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν*, 1 Cor. xv. 24; and, on the other hand, it is again a testimony to the comprehensive view which the apostle himself takes from his high standpoint.

¹ This expression is explained by Heinrici (1 Cor. p. 172, etc.), only it must be said that he is inclined (p. 174) to weaken it ideally, and to dissipate its realistic form.

and opens up to others. The last enemy that will then be destroyed is death (ver. 26), which appropriately supports the assumption that the general resurrection precedes. In the fulness of the kingdom, those redeemed by Christ shall enjoy the perfect freedom of the children of God (Rom. viii. 21, etc.), and raised above sin and death, shall lead a blessed life in everlasting happiness (Rom. ii. 7, 10, v. 21, vi. 22 : τὸ δὲ τέλος ζωὴν αἰώνιον ; 1 Cor. xv. 54-56 ; Gal. vi. 9, etc., comp. ver. 8 : *θερίσομεν (ζωὴν αἰώνιον) μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι*). Then shall the finite, imperfect, fragmentary nature of present knowledge be done away, and in its stead shall come the perfect, actual form of the thing itself (*διὰ εἶδους*, 2 Cor. v. 7), immediate vision face to face. We shall be present with the Lord ; we shall know even as we are known by God, and love shall never cease (1 Cor. xiii. 8-12 ; 2 Cor. iii. 18).

But even this will not be a life of pure spirit ; rather will it consist in the release of the body and a life of glorified corporeity, consequently a fuller and more perfect humanity, in the midst of a glorified corporeal world, freed from its former state of corruption and servitude. Creation also waits for deliverance in the present time (Rom. viii. 19, etc.) ; for it is a tolerably unanimous result of modern, impartial exegesis, that *κτίσις* here means nature as distinguished from humanity. Accordingly creation is in a state of corruption and vanity which burdens it with an oppressing bondage (ver. 20, etc.). This present state, however, is not the original and necessary one, but has arisen and been superimposed (*ὑπετάγη οὐχ ἐκοῦσα*, ver. 20). The release of nature from the state of corruption imposed on her (in conse-

quence of the fall of man), for which she longs and unconsciously waits, will be effected when the glory of the sons of God shall appear (ver. 19). When the bodies of believers are redeemed from the state of humiliation, all nature too will be raised to a state of freedom corresponding to this transfiguration of the sons of God (vv. 23, 21).¹

But what will become of the ungodly? Their lot will be the *φθορά* (Gal. vi. 8), the *ἀπώλεια* (Rom. ix. 22). What does this mean? According to Fr. Köstlin, "Lehre des Apostel Paulus von der Auferstehung," *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1877, p. 287, etc., its only meaning is hopeless annihilation, irrevocable destruction; so, too, Lorenz, pp. 80, 83, etc. But this is absolutely irreconcilable with what the same apostle says in Rom. ii. 5-9, xiv. 10, 12; 2 Cor. v. 10. He here refers not merely to a judgment of believers for the purpose of determining who is found worthy and who not, but to a judgment of each and all without restriction, even of those who do not obey the truth that is revealed to them, but rather obey unrighteousness, who remain in unbelief and do evil. The prospect held out to the latter is indignation and wrath (*ὀργή καὶ θυμός*, Rom. ii. 8) on the part of God; tribulation and anguish on the part of

¹ Umbreit, *Der Brief an die Römer auf dem Grunde des A. T. ausgelegt*, 1856, pp. 91, etc., 291, etc., points out that as a matter of fact *κτίσις* is to be understood of the inanimate and animate but irrational creation, appealing to the finest proofs of the Old Testament respecting the pain of the creature. Tholuck, *Comm.*, justly remarks—(1) that ver. 19 strictly taken extends no farther than to the ceasing of the power of death in the *κτίσις*; (2) that the range of the *κτίσις* coincides with the material world by which man is surrounded, consequently—"the new earth;" comp. Lorenz, p. 89, etc.

those who are judged (ver. 9), which from its antithesis to the glorious, blessed lot of the righteous in eternity, cannot possibly be regarded as concentrated into one moment, "the day of wrath" (ver. 5), the act of judgment, thus making annihilation and destruction the lot of the ungodly. But if we assume a *permanent* state, this presupposes the raising up to judgment. Paul indeed nowhere expressly mentions a resurrection of the ungodly; where he speaks of resurrection, he has only in view the children of God in whom the spirit dwells as a pledge (Rom. viii. 11), and their resurrection body, like the glorified body of Christ. But to conclude with Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 407; Lorenz, p. 88, that *there is no resurrection* for those who are not partakers of the Christian salvation, we can only consider a too hasty inference. Heinrici is more cautious when, in explaining 1 Cor. xi. 24, he remarks (p. 504, etc.): "The apostle refrains from casting any further glances at the lot of all who do not belong to Christ." We find, however, some intimations that have escaped notice, which, strictly followed out, would lead to the ἀποκατάστασις πάντων, *i.e.* to the final reconciliation of all sinful men, *e.g.* Rom. v. 18: δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς δικαιοσύνην ζωῆς. Certainly the parallel εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς κατάκριμα seems to justify the idea that all humanity shall partake of grace as they were undoubtedly involved in sin; yet there is weight in the remark that it is not said εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, all without exception; but εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, men without distinction (Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 490). This view commends itself to us rather than Tholuck's, according to which

expression is given only to the extent of the work of redemption in God's *purpose* and objective power, to the *quantum ad sufficientiam*, but not to the *quantum ad efficientiam* (Thomas Aquinas), or else the reader must in thought supply ὅσοιγε λαμβάνουσι τὴν περισσεΐαν τῆς χάριτος, which, as he himself feels, is an unauthorized limitation. On the other hand, in Rom. xi. 32 (συνέκλεισεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπίθειαν, ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσῃ) οἱ πάντες plainly denotes all humanity, without exception; limitation to the two classes of Jews and Gentiles (Tholuck and others) consists neither with this expression nor with the context. But Meyer justly remarks that the divine *purpose* only is in question (ἵνα—ἐλεήσῃ), so that its partial non-realization, through the guilt of individuals, is not excluded. Finally, 1 Cor. xv. 22: ὡςπερ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται. Meyer's expedient in this passage is to understand ζωοποιεῖν after Chrysostom's example, not of the resurrection of the blessed, but of the general one, which is untenable, because (1) ζωοποιεῖν in Pauline usage is not a *vox media*, but is constantly employed of the operation of *grace*; (2) because the expression: ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ζωοποιηθ., presupposes close communion of those who are to be quickened with Christ. But we see no reason for objecting to the inference which Hofmann (i. 490) draws from the context, viz. Paul does not mean to say, all who shall be alive in Christ, but that in Christ, *i.e.* under the condition of belonging to Him, all shall be alive; so that all the spiritual posterity of whom Christ is head, *i.e.* all redeemed by Him, are alone referred to; comp. Heinrici, 1 Kor. p. 495, etc.; Holsten, *Ec. des*

Paulus, i. 418, note ***; Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 408. After weighing all these passages, we cannot find the fundamental outlines of the doctrine of restoration in Paul, as do Weitzel, *ante*, p. 978, and W. Georgii, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1845, p. 25. Rather do we believe that we must hold fast the doctrine of everlasting condemnation as his true doctrine regarding the final destiny of the godless. This, however, does not exclude the idea that when the Son has subdued all enemies (consequently when all resistance ceases), when He gives up the kingdom to the Father, and is subject to Him who has put all things under Him,—that then God will be all in all (1 Cor. xv. 24, 28).¹

¹ The parallelism between πάντα and πάντων in ver. 28 seems to us to require the latter to be taken as neuter dative, consequently in its largest and most comprehensive sense. In this we agree with Heinrici, p. 511, and Holsten, *Ev. des Paulus*, i. 422, note ***, against Weiss, p. 408, note 6. From what has been said, it is easy to estimate the value of Reuss' interpretation, when, in *Hist. de la théol. chrét. au siècle apost.* 1852, 2nd vol. p. 9, he asserts of the eschatological teaching: "L'Évangile de Paul ne les comprenait pas, —ils n'étaient pas du nombre de ceux dans lesquels Paul faisait consister l'essence de l'Évangile; cela est si vrai que dans son épître la plus systématique, celle aux Romains, il les passe complètement sous silence." We may be permitted to remark this much, that his statement respecting the Epistle to the Romans is completely groundless; comp. Rom. ii. 5, etc., viii. 11, xi. 25, xiii. 11, etc., and other passages. Our readers may decide whether Weiss, *Petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 59, does not come nearer the truth in asserting the opposite, "the doctrine of hope appears in Paul to be carried out with peculiar fulness." But when Pfleiderer, p. 272, holds that the Pauline system results in an unsolved antinomy between the monism of religious speculation (the restoration of all things, the reconciliation of all) and the dualism of moral reflection, by virtue of the legal standpoint, as if the quondam Pharisee appeared again in the latter, this judgment rests on a misapprehension of fact, inasmuch as the view of a unified world-issue of the ἀποκατάστασις is incorrectly attributed to the apostle.

CHAPTER III.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE PASTORAL ÉPISTLES.

The two Epistles to Timothy along with that to Titus form a closely connected, inseparable group, in substance, form, aim, and character. On the other hand, they are so essentially different from the other Epistles of the apostle, that they must be separately considered. Add to this the fact that this triad of Epistles, in respect to their Pauline origin, are subject to various doubts, the views of the most earnest inquirers into the question of their authenticity being remarkably divided at the present day. Not only does the historical situation presupposed in the Epistles, but also the practical aim they pursue, and the value of the ideas which they express, present so many riddles that it is the duty of an honest seeker to approach them with impartiality.

The three Epistles are rightly described as pastoral. They are much less occupied with the mission and *planting* of churches than most of the Pauline Epistles; their aim is rather to turn the *training* of the Churches into the right path, and to keep them from error. It is not a process of conquest for Christ which is put before us, but the striving after preservation; a conservative feature runs through the Epistles.

Consistently with this aim the gospel of Christ takes the form of doctrine (*ἡ καλὴ διδασκαλία*, 1 Tim. iv. 6, vi. 1; *οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι τοῦ κυρίου*, vi. 3); what this doctrine is intended to effect is in the first

place *knowledge* (1 Tim. iv. 3: ἐπεγνωκότες τὴν ἀλήθειαν; comp. 2 Tim. ii. 25, iii. 7). This doctrinal direction was produced and strengthened by the appearance and threatening growth of errorists in the Churches, and by attachment on the part of some teachers to strange things (ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, 1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 3).¹ The errorists themselves are first described with regard to their moral character, as people who follow after filthy lucre and riches (1 Tim. vi. 5; Tit. i. 11). The strongest delineation of heretical immorality doubtless refers to the future, and has a prophetic bias (2 Tim. iii. 1, etc.); but even here it is quite obvious from ver. 5, ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας, etc., that in no case is there a reference to non-Christians, but to members of the Church. These Epistles do not attack moral corruption alone; as a matter of fact errors too are dealt with. The διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων, mentioned in 1 Tim. iv. 1, are not alone prophetic of the future, but false doctrine must have been prevalent even at that time. The circumstance that the discourses of heretics are characterized as μῦθοι, 1 Tim. i. 4, iv. 7, 2 Tim. iv. 4, *i.e.* as mere traditions and fables, shows plainly that these peculiar doctrines implied a whole train of thought without foundation. They were of a Judaiz-

¹ The usual acceptance of this word, to teach strange things, which Weiss, *N. T. Theologie*, p. 452, note 4, still maintains, appears to us to have been thoroughly refuted by the searching, linguistic examination of Kölling, *1 Tim. untersucht*, 1882, p. 251, etc.; while the acceptance of Otto, *die geschichtlichen Verhältnisse der Pastoralbriefe*, 1860, p. 45, etc.: "to follow strange teachers," so that the word is not used of errorists, but of members of the Church led astray, seems to be proved. Kölling, however, has not adequately considered the indication of strangeness which lies in ἕτερος (comp. Gal. i. 6).

ing character, for their authors represented themselves as νομοδιδάσκαλοι, 1 Tim. i. 7 ; comp. Tit. iii. 9 ; what they adduced were μάχαι νομικαί ; i. 14 : Ἰουδαϊκοὶ μῦθοι ; and with this corresponds the fact that according to Tit. i. 10 some at least of those seducers were actually Jewish Christians. Another origin, indeed, is indicated in 2 Tim. ii. 18, where two of the errorists, Hymenæus and Philetus, are mentioned as maintaining that the resurrection is already past, so that another tendency is here seen, spiritualizing, *i.e.* dissipating the reality of salvation. What these men promised was a higher insight into divine things, a γνῶσις, which was indeed a knowledge falsely so called (1 Tim. vi. 20¹).

In opposition to such errors as morbid aberrations, 1 Tim. vi. 4, these Epistles now emphasize *sound doctrine* (ὕψαινονσα, 1 Tim. i. 10 ; comp. vi. 3 ; 2 Tim. i. 13, iv. 3 ; Tit. i. 9, ii. 1, 8) ; and this finds its firm abode only in a heart which has become sound in sincerity of faith (ὕψαίνειν ἐν τῇ πίστει, Tit. i. 13), a heart consciously good, keeping the

¹ The appellation ψευδῶνυμος γνῶσις is one of the main props on which is based the theory that the heretics attacked in the pastoral Epistles are identical with the Gnostics of the second century, Marcion, etc. Dr. Baur, *Die sogen. Pastoralbriefe*, 1835, was the first who tried to establish this view, and believed he had thus by positive criticism pointed out the historical place of the Epistles. In this he is still followed by Hilgenfeld, *Einkl. in das N. T.* 1875, p. 760 ; Holtzmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 1880, p. 126, etc., and others. But the ψευδῶνυμος γνῶσις, 1 Tim. vi. 20, which Baur, p. 26 ; Hilgenfeld, *ante* ; and Holtzmann, p. 132, take for a current designation of the heretical γνῶσις, proves nothing at all ; for γνῶσις, as a deeper insight into divine things, was much sought after in the time of the apostle ; and the predicate attached is intended to brand the boasted wisdom of the errorists as false. To conclude from the fact that Hegesippus and Irenæus characterize the heretical gnosis of their own time by the term employed in 1 Tim., that this passage points visibly to the

conscience pure (1 Tim. i. 5; 2 Tim. i. 3). The pastoral Epistles are characterized by an unmistakable tendency to insist upon honest piety, a heart morally sound, the only guarantee of genuine faith and sound doctrine. Hence the author inculcates on Timothy and Titus, as well as on those who occupy official posts, the observance of moral duties above all, *e.g.* 1 Tim. iii. 1-13, iv. 12; Tit. i. 6. Consistently with this, Church members themselves are exhorted to the practice of Christian virtues, such as have been taught and made obligatory by the redeeming grace of God in Christ, Tit. ii. 11, etc.; a practice consisting in turning aside from ungodliness and worldly lusts, and on the other hand in self-denial, justice and piety (comp. 2 Tim. ii. 20), waiting in hope for the second coming of Jesus Christ in glory. This prevailing moral and practical feature of the Epistles prevents our finding in them, if disposed to look for it, an already stereotyped Church doctrine, a doctrinal orthodoxy. In order to make this view plausible, isolated expressions must first be strained,

Gnostic system of the second century, would be only an optical delusion. We have a striking instance of a similar delusion in Baur's argument, *Paulus*, 2 Aufl. ii. p. 110, etc. Holtzmann, p. 131, *infra*, has rightly apprehended the true state of the case. But when Baur finds in 1 Tim. vi. 20 an accurate description of Marcion in particular, on account of his work *Ἀντιθέσις*, and makes *γενεαλογίαι ἀπίκραντοι*, 1 Tim. i. 4, refer to the Valentinian speculations regarding the world of æons (Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 465), Mangold is right in saying: "The species of Gnostics that would bind the two elements (the dualism of Marcion and the Valentinian speculations) into *one* doctrine is still to be found" (*Irrlehrer der Pastoralbriefe*, 1859, p. 100). When Holtzmann finds the solution of the riddle offered by the different varieties of errorists in the pastoral Epistles in the fact that the author although writing at the time of the incipient gnosis yet intentionally puts himself back to the time of the apostle (p. 157, etc.), he cuts the Gordian knot with a bold *petitio principii*.

and the stamp of a formulated rule of faith be imprinted on them ; *e.g.* παραγγελία, 1 Tim. i. 1, 5, must be conceived as a binding confession of faith ;¹ ἐντολή, 1 Tim. vi. 14, must be applied to the Church creed instead of to the comprehensive duty of Christian fidelity and obedience ; while καλή ὁμολογία, 1 Tim. vi. 12, must be interpreted as a formal, stereotyped confession,² instead of the simple confession of Christ as the Saviour, implied in the context by its reference to Jesus' confession of His Messiahship before the procurator. The only element of truth in this view seems to us to consist in the fact that the gospel of Christ is regarded as truth, as doctrine, in a preponderating degree.³

The *doctrine* itself which incidentally appears in the pastoral Epistles is simply the preaching of Jesus Christ the Saviour of sinners, given to us by God the Author of salvation. Here, as in the recognised Epistles, *universal sinfulness* forms the background of all evangelical preaching. Nor is an indication wanting even here that personal experience of God's mercy in Christ has opened the eyes of the apostle to his own sin and that of humanity, 1 Tim. i. 15, etc. : ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι, ὧν πρῶτός εἰμι ἐγώ. The juxtaposition of κόσμος and ἁμαρτωλοί points to the universality of sin, corresponding to the universality of grace. This agrees with Tit. iii. 3, where, for the purpose of inculcating on believers gentleness towards *all* men, they are reminded

¹ Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 468, which even Holtzmann, p. 293, rejects.

² Holtzmann, p. 185, etc., after the example of Baur, *Pastoral-briefe*, p. 134.

³ Comp. Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 450, etc.

that believers too were all (*ἡμεν—καὶ ἡμεῖς*)¹ before their conversion (*ποτέ*) disobedient, serving divers lusts and pleasures, envious and full of hatred. We can certainly corroborate the observation of Weiss, p. 455, note 1, that nowhere in these Epistles is sin traced back to the *σάρξ*. On the other hand, the oft-recurring denunciation of heretical immorality, together with the warning against sensual desires which drown men in the abyss of destruction (1 Tim. vi. 9), prove that the idea of the *σάρξ* is present, even if the specific expression of it be wanting; nor can it be denied that the pastoral Epistles contain a profound insight into the power of sin.

The deliverance of sinners is given in Christ, the one Mediator between God and men, the *man* Christ (1 Tim. ii. 4, etc.); *ἄνθρωπος* is particularly emphasized in connection with the *εἰς μεσίτης*, probably in opposition to heretical doctrine, as though angels, or other higher beings, were mediators of salvation. The descent of Jesus from David is made prominent in 2 Tim. ii. 8, in order to point out the fulfilment of the Old Testament promises and the connection between the Old and the New Covenant. On the other hand, the deity of Christ is strongly attested and intimated in the expression in 1 Tim. iv. 16: *ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*, in which the real pre-existence of Christ before His incarnation and historical appearance is unmistakably involved. His historical appearance is designated in 2 Tim. i. 10 by *ἐπιφάνεια*, the same word which is applied in other passages of the pastoral

¹ How Holtzmann comes to discover, p. 494, that the author has fallen out of his *role*, "the Gentile Christian author has almost forgotten that he is speaking in the person of a native Jew,"—this passes our comprehension.

Epistles, as well as in 2 Thess. ii. 8, to the Redeemer's second coming.¹ As certainly as the Redeemer lives personally in glory before His future appearing, so certainly was He also a person before His historical appearance.

The redemption which Christ has brought us is attached to His crucifixion and resurrection, for Christ "gave Himself a ransom for all" (*ἀντίλυτρον*, 1 Tim. ii. 6; comp. *λυτρώσασθαι*, Tit. ii. 14, which can only refer to the vicarious atoning death).² The memory of His resurrection is commended to the pious, 2 Tim. ii. 8 (*μνημόνευε Ἰ. Χριστὸν ἐγηγερμένον ἐκ νεκρῶν*).³ The essence of the salvation mediated by Christ consists, according to 2 Tim. i. 10, in the fact that He destroyed the power of death, abolished it (*καταργήσας τὸν θάνατον*), and brought life and immortality to light (*φωτίσας ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν*). The connecting of the ideas *ζωή* and *φῶς* is not foreign to Pauline thought.⁴ In Tit. ii. 14 the aim of the redemption is said to be that Christ might redeem us

¹ That *ἐπιφάνεια*, according to Baur's assertion, *N. T. Theol.* p. 348, etc., includes a Gnostic idea, and brings out the sudden unmediated fact of the entrance of Christ into the world, cannot be established by the sense and usage of the word in the classics and in the New Testament; comp. Cremer, *Bibl. theologisches Wörterbuch*.

² Holtzmann finds the most important deviation from the Pauline type in this, viz., that *λύτρωσις*, Tit. ii. 14, has no religious reference to the law with its curse, but merely a moral reference to the conduct of the Redeemer, *Pastoralbriefe*, p. 169, etc. But in Rom. iii. 24, etc., *ἀπολύτρωσις* has no direct reference to the law, but to sin and the guilt of it.

³ Schenkel, *Christusbild der Apostel*, p. 358, etc., thinks that neither the crucifixion of Jesus nor His resurrection assumes a prominent position as a fact of salvation in the pastoral Epistles. But he must suppress by artificial means the value of the statements in order to arrive at that result.

⁴ Against Pileiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 475, who looks upon this com-

from all iniquity (as a power under which we had fallen by guilt), and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. To understand this, not of redemption from guilt, but solely of moral renovation, is to misapprehend and narrow the range of the *λυτρώσασθαι*, *i.e.* of the idea of ransom from a foreign power and yoke of bondage, and in like manner to mistake the *καθαρίζειν λαὸν περιούσιον*;¹ for the idea of moral renovation, the power and desire to walk in virtue, are only to be found in the last words: *ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων*.

The deliverance of sinners accomplished by Christ is appropriated to individuals through God's mercy by means of baptism, which is "a laver of regeneration" (*λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας*, without the *τοῦ*) and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, Tit. iii. 5. In these words baptism is unmistakably designated as an actual and operative means of grace, since God delivers souls through it, and makes them partakers of salvation (*ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγ.*). The cleansing laver of regeneration is essentially a renewing of the inner man by the Holy Spirit (*καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πν. ἁγ.* as *epexegetis*).²

bination as more Johannine. One who describes salvation in Christ as a shining light, 2 Cor. iv. 4, etc., and perceives the gracious gift of God in eternal life, Rom. v. 18, 21, vi. 12, etc., viii. 6, and other passages, may be allowed to think of light and life together, without being accused of a *μετέβασις* into an extraneous circle of ideas.

¹ Against Pfeleiderer, p. 475.

² According to Baur, *N. T. Theol.* p. 340, the association of regeneration and renewal through the Spirit with baptism, is a thought foreign to the apostle. But yet the *ἁγιάζεσθαι* and *δικαιοῦσθαι*, as the effect of grace, are in 1 Cor. vi. 11 ascribed to baptism, which is certainly included in *ἀπολούσασθαι* (comp. Heinrici, 1 *Kor.* p. 176, etc.). Similarly in Rom. vi. 3, etc., we find baptism described as a planting into Christ, into His death and resurrection; comp. Gal. iii. 27.

The fundamental truth of the Pauline gospel, viz. that the salvation of man and the good pleasure of God are not procured by our deeds, but are bestowed through God's mercy, is attested in the clearest manner in the statement respecting baptism, Tit. iii. 5. It comes forth plainly in the three Epistles, wherever Christ the Redeemer, God the Redeemer, "the mystery of godliness," and redeeming grace are spoken of (*e.g.* 1 Tim. iii. 16 ; 2 Tim. i. 9 ; Tit. ii. 11). Accordingly faith also is insisted upon, though it is not put in antithesis to the Mosaic law and the works of law, as in the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans. Πίστις is certainly named here and there among other virtues as one of them, *e.g.* 1 Tim. iv. 12 : ἐν ἀναστροφῇ, ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πίστει, ἐν ἀγνεΐᾳ ; comp. vi. 11 ; 2 Tim. iii. 10. But to assert that πίστις in the pastoral Epistles is deprived of its central religious meaning, and conceived partly as a moral virtue, partly as a *fides quæ creditur*, "condensed into orthodoxy,"¹ is to overlook completely the fact that the author, in greeting Timothy as his "own son in the faith," 1 Tim. i. 2, designates πίστις as the element in which alone the spiritual life of a Christian can originate and continue. Moreover, when Timothy in 1 Tim. vi. 12 is admonished to fight the noble fight of faith, and to lay hold on eternal life to which he is called ; and in like manner, when the author, 2 Tim. iv. 7, says of himself that he has fought the good fight, finished the course, kept the faith (τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα), the idea again is that faith is the fundamental state of the heart toward God, to obtain and keep which, in spite of all temptation and hostility, is the life-problem of the child of

¹ Pfeleiderer, p. 416, comp. p. 468, etc. ; Holtzmann, p. 179, etc.

God. The same conception of faith manifestly lies at the foundation of a passage in 1 Tim. i. 5, where faith unfeigned is joined with purity of heart and a good conscience.

The pastoral Epistles are distinguished by their insisting upon the maintenance of a good conscience, the manifestation of faith in genuine piety, and a pure virtuous walk. It is not the form but the power of piety on which stress is laid (2 Tim. iii. 5: *μόρφωσις εὐσεβείας—δύναμις*). The end of the gospel is love out of a pure heart (1 Tim. i. 5); saving grace teaches us to walk in soberness, righteousness, and godliness (Tit. ii. 11). The peculiar people of Christ are redeemed and purified, to the end that they may be *ζηλωτῆς καλῶν ἔργων*, Tit. ii. 14. The man of God must be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works (2 Tim. iii. 17: *ἄρτιος—πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐξηρτισμένος*; comp. Tit. iii. 1); the exact contrary of which is laid to the charge of unbelievers, those whose hearts are defiled. They deny God in their works, and are reprobate, *ἀδόκιμοι*, *i.e.* not approved, unto every good work.

Notwithstanding the great value inherent in good works, yet the hope of eternal life is based not on works, but on God's mercy in Christ and on faith (*οἱ μέλλοντες πιστεῦειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ* (Christ) *εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, 1 Tim. i. 16; comp. 2 Tim. iv. 18), according to which Christ alone, by the complete deliverance which He affords, helps to the attainment of His heavenly kingdom. The hope of receiving the victor's crown of righteousness, which the Saviour as a righteous judge will bestow, is attached to the fighting of a good fight, to the finishing of the course, and finally to the maintenance of the faith, 2 Tim.

iv. 7, etc. Nor is this at variance with what is said of the rich in 1 Tim. vi. 17, etc. Timothy is told to warn them against high-mindedness and trust in uncertain riches, and to lead them to trust rather in God whose riches and goodness are everlasting; and to be rich in good and charitable works, by which means they shall have treasure in heaven, and lay up for themselves a good foundation against the future, in order to obtain eternal life. Not that charity and diligence in good works are here specified as the foundation of the hope of blessedness; on the contrary, the rich are exhorted to put their hope in *God*. But by becoming rich in good works, and in readiness to communicate, they heap up treasure for themselves (comp. Matt. vi. 19 of treasures in heaven), forming a good foundation (combination of two figures: treasure-house and foundation), from which as a foothold they may lay hold on, obtain true life (*vita vitalis*, ἡ ὄντως ζωή, according to the accredited reading).¹ The simplest interpretation of the cognate statement, that those who have used the office of a deacon well (οἱ καλῶς διακονήσαντες) purchase to themselves a good degree (καλὸν βαθμόν) and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus (1 Tim. iii. 13), is that such men gain for themselves a firm and honourable standing which commands the respect of the Church, and brings with it great joy in the

¹ Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 479, etc., makes *θεμέλιος* refer to "the foundation of blessedness which they build for themselves by their meritorious works." He has inserted the idea of merit between the lines, whereas the words say nothing more than that rich Christians, if willing to communicate their wealth, store up a treasure (in heaven) and secure to themselves the foundation of a good conscience against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life (to which by God's grace they are called; comp. ver. 12).

work of faith.¹ A thought which Schleiermacher, *krit. Sendschreiben*, p. 47, etc., and Hofmann wrongly judge to be un-Pauline. This much only can we admit with Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 461, that the frequent mention of reward recalls the early apostolic mode of teaching.

An important doctrine of the pastoral Epistles is that of the *Church*. The Church of the living God, 1 Tim. iii. 15, or "the house of God," *i.e.* the family of God, is characterized as *στῦλος καὶ ἑδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας*, the pillar and ground of truth. God is the Master of this holy household (*δεσπότης*, 2 Tim. ii. 21); its stewards (*οἰκονόμοι θεοῦ*, Tit. i. 7) are the elders (*ἐπίσκοποι*); the members of God's family are all such and only such as God has chosen and acknow-

¹ There are two interpretations of this expression, standing at opposite extremes,—a realistic, clerical one, and an idealistic one which makes it refer to a future life; and between these two a middle interpretation approved by letter and context. Hieronymus and Theophylact down to several interpreters of the sixteenth century, and in recent times Baur and Kölling, 1 *Tim.* p. 137, understand the word in a realistic, clerical sense, as referring to the promotion of deacons to the presbyterial-episcopate. But in this case we should have the comparative instead of the positive (*καλός*). Later usage in synodical canons proves nothing for the earlier time of the author (against Kölling). The idealistic interpretation referring it to a future life, a higher stage of blessedness (Theodoret, Flatt, Pfeiderer, p. 479; Holtzmann, p. 182), is obliged to bring in the idea of the next world, as Theodoret has most naively done by adding the words *ἐν τῷ μίλλοντι βίῳ*, while Holtzmann's appeal to the *παῖρρησία ἐν πίστι* proves nothing. Consequently Pfeiderer's denunciation of the un-Pauline doctrine of works as the foundation of blessedness is disposed of. Pfeiderer does not bring in the idea of expectancy, but this is done by Wiesinger (against Holtzmann, p. 323). Nothing in the text leads us beyond the present life; we hold to Huther's interpretation, referring it to moral dignity and respect, with cheerfulness in work and administration, while we cannot consider the combination of this interpretation with that of future blessedness (van Oosterzee in Lange's *Bibelwerk*) a happy one.

ledged for His own (*ἐκλεκτοὶ θεοῦ*, Tit. i. 1 ; *οἱ ὄντες αὐτοῦ*, 2 Tim. ii. 19). It is evident that a distinction is here drawn within the Church : in it there are true believers, who actually belong to God by virtue of their election through grace, but at the same time by virtue of their own departure from iniquity (2 Tim. ii. 19*b*); but it likewise contains such as are guilty of unrighteousness. The latter are indeed members of the Church externally, for they name the name of the Lord, *i.e.* of Christ as their Lord, they profess to be His, but without any claim, for as a matter of fact they have not renounced iniquity. In 2 Tim. ii. 20 they are compared to *σκεύη ἀτιμίας*, such as are to be found in a great house, while between the *σκεύη εἰς τιμὴν* there still exists a relative distinction like that between vessels of gold and silver on the one hand, and vessels of wood and earth on the other hand, according as Christians of moral purity and virtue strive to do good work in the service of God (ver. 21). An unconditioned universality of grace is therefore not mentioned. The severe condemnation of errorists and their moral perversity makes such a view inadmissible.¹

The influence of Pauline life-work and teaching may be perceived in the writings of Luke, in his Gospel as well as in the Acts of the Apostles, both of

¹ First Baur, *Die sogen. Pastoralbriefe*, 1835, and *N. T. Theol.* 1864, p. 346, etc., then Hilgenfeld, *Einführung*, p. 254, and Holtzmann, *Pastoralbriefe*, 1880, p. 169, etc., have tried to find in these Epistles an un-Pauline universalism of redeeming grace (in opposition to the aristocratic particularism of the Gnostic system). They appealed in the first place to 1 Tim. ii. 4, then to Tit. ii. 11, as if the *δικαίωσις ζωῆς* were not also declared in Rom. v. 18 to be destined for *all* men. But neither here nor in 1 Tim. ii. 4 do we find the meaning that the saving gift of justification by faith, actual deliverance by means of a knowledge of the truth, is bestowed on *all* without exception.

which have not very happily been called productions of the Pauline school. The spiritual analogy between the third Gospel and the Apostle Paul was already observed by Christian antiquity. Irenæus expressly designates the Gospel of Luke a copy of the gospel which Paul preached, *Adversus Hæc.* iii. 1: *καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο.* In fact, the universalism of Christianity and the doctrine of unmerited grace towards sinners, as those who are justified by faith not by works, are so clearly imprinted on the third Gospel, that we cannot fail to recognise in it the Pauline spirit. Universalism, or the fact that redemption through Christ is intended for humanity, is indeed already indicated in the genealogy of Jesus, inasmuch as this is traced back not merely to Abraham (as in Matthew), but to Adam (iii. 23-28); for not only is the limitation of the Redeemer and His work to Israel thus indirectly denied, but Jesus as a second progenitor of humanity is contrasted with the first (comp. Rom. v. 12, etc.; 1 Cor. xv. 21, etc., 45-49). Moreover, the narratives of the mission of the seventy disciples as opposed to the twelve appointed for Israel, and of the merciful and grateful Samaritan, bear the stamp of a similar view and of a reference to the heathen mission. On the other hand, in close connection with the above characteristic, great prominence is given to the idea that grace is a free and gratuitous gift to sinners, justification not being earned by works, but appropriated by faith. We call to mind the grateful sinner, vii. 37-50, to whom Jesus says: *ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε*; the penitent and believing malefactor on the cross (xxiii. 40-43); as well as the parables of

the Lost Sheep, the Piece of Silver, and the Prodigal Son (xv. 1-32); the praying publican as contrasted with the self-righteous Pharisee (xviii. 9-14); and the confession of the servants, who even when they have done everything, acknowledge themselves to be unprofitable servants (xvii. 10), and other examples in addition.

We have, nevertheless, no foundation for attributing to Luke an antinomian and anti-Israelite disposition, nor for accusing him of a prevailing party interest with respect to doctrine and history as a leading motive in the composition of his Gospel. As regards the former, it is most distinctly contradicted by the saying of Jesus in xvi. 17: *εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ τοῦ νόμου μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν*, which ascribes a *permanent* value to the law, unless, with Hilgenfeld, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1853, p. 231, etc.; Baur, *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrb.* p. 69, etc., note 2; 2nd ed. p. 75, note, we adopt the reading of the antinomian Marcion: *τῶν λόγων μου*, instead of *τοῦ νόμου* (comp. Anger, *Synopsis*, p. 34; and p. xxxix. etc.). But apart from the fact, in recent times universally admitted, that Marcion arbitrarily altered the text in many passages, in the interest of his system, both wording and context are against Marcion's reading, and favourable to the usual text. Where can a passage be found in which the Redeemer Himself or an apostle speaks of Jesus' sayings as of a written word? The word *κεραία*, the small part of a letter, applies only to Old Testament writing, but not at all to the words of Jesus, which are spirit and life. But even the context demands *τοῦ νόμου*, inasmuch as before and after ver. 17, reference is made only to the Old Testament, and not

to the words of Jesus; for the statement respecting divorce in ver. 18 also implies the validity of the divine arrangement in the Old Testament, and not the abolition of it (comp. *Stud. und Krit.* 1854, p. 807, etc.). Moreover, the narrative of the rich man in xvi. 19, etc., culminates in words that strictly belong to this connection, ver. 29: ἔχουσι Μωϋσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας· ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν; and ver. 31: εἰ Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἀκούουσιν, οὐδ' ἐάν τις ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆ πεισθήσονται, whereby the impression of the resurrection of Jesus is made indirectly dependent upon obedience to the word and Scripture of the Old Testament. To impute to Luke's Gospel a party design as its leading motive is absolutely forbidden by the preface, i. 1-4. We must allow the evangelist his own design, viz. to write history that is authentic and credible, all the more that *sacred* history is his subject (comp. Reuss, *ante*, pp. 622, etc., 620). But this naturally does not exclude the idea that the historian narrates things in the way in which he sees them, corresponding to the insight into the truth which was given him. The same remark applies to the Acts as the second part of one and the same work (Acts i. 1). As certainly as Pauline universalism stands out in the design of the book and in a number of individual discourses and facts, as certainly as the truth of free grace and justification by faith frequently appear, so also is the presence of piety towards the law and the people of Israel unmistakable; the form of its manifestation being truly Pauline. On the other hand, we are not justified by facts in suspecting party interest throughout, whether of a conciliatory or apologetic nature, nor yet the invention and conscious falsification of

history; nor is it consistent with moral obligation towards the personality of the author to pass over his reverence towards God's holy word, which cannot be set aside with impunity even from a scientific standpoint.

THIRD SECTION.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is a jewel in the New Testament canon, both on account of the incomparable peculiarity of its doctrine and its practical life-penetrating aim. To all appearance the writing is addressed to Palestinian Jewish Christians, especially to the Christian Church at Jerusalem, having for its object the preservation of Christians of the Hebrews from the threatening danger of apostasy from Christ and complete relapse into unbelieving Judaism (x. 25, etc.: *μὴ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν αὐτῶν*; ver. 29: *ὁ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καταπατήσας καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης κοινὸν ἡγησάμενος*; vi. 29: *ἀνασταυροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*). The author's only aim in unfolding his thoughts is to meet this danger, and to raise Christians among the Hebrews to a position of perfect joyfulness and resolute independence, in opposition to Judaism.¹ Far from renouncing their faith in Christ and separating themselves from His

¹ It leads to a total misapprehension of the value of the doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews, if we follow the example of Baur, *N. T. Theol.* p. 230, etc., who treats the doctrinal system of the Epistle as if it moved solely in a self-sufficing world of ideas, remote from reality and the actual life of the congregation and the Church.

Church, he exhorts them, on the contrary, to go forth unto Jesus without the camp, bearing His reproach (xiii. 13); in other words, he calls upon them to withdraw from communion with the Jewish cult and national life. He enforces this far-reaching demand by an abstract, profound, and thoroughly characteristic view. The central thought of his doctrine is "Jesus Christ the Mediator of a new covenant" (ix. 15, xii. 24). Herein is contained a treasury of important truths; unity and destruction between the old and the new covenant; the deficiencies of the old, the advantages of the new; and again, the personality of Jesus Christ, who as the Son of God and true man is the Mediator of the new covenant; the Mediator of the new covenant as its high priest; its sacrifice and its agency: the New Testament covenant people, their growth, life, and final aim.

1. The excellence of the new covenant, its infinite superiority to the old covenant, is an idea which runs throughout the whole Epistle. This comparison presupposes nevertheless a union between them. A covenant on the part of God with one people exists in the former as well as in the latter (viii. 6, etc., 9, etc.: *κρείττων διαθήκη*). God is the Author of the covenant between the people and Himself, a self-revelation of God to men is found everywhere in it (comp. i. 1: *λαλήσας—ἐλάλησε*). Every covenant contains the law as well as the promise of God to its members (*νόμος, ἐντολή, ἐντέλλεσθαι*, ix. 19, etc.; *ἐπαγγελία*, viii. 6, iv. 1, etc.). Those who follow the call are partakers of the covenant, and become a family of God (*οἶκος θεοῦ*, iii. 6), a nation of God (viii. 10).

The author recognises a double covenant: the one mediated by Moses, the other by Christ (iii. 1, etc., viii. 6, etc.). The distinction rests on the Old Testament promise of God contained in Jer. xxxi. 31, etc.; Heb. viii. 8, etc., x. 16, with reference to the new covenant of the future. They have no point of similarity; the new one stands high above the old. The old covenant was faulty (*οὐκ ἄμεμπτος*, viii. 7). The divine censure seems directed only to the human members of the old covenant (*μεμφόμενος αὐτούς*, viii. 8); but more closely considered, it points to the imperfection of the divine institution itself in a threefold aspect: in the first place, it is not available for all where revelation and knowledge of God are concerned, and always requires human mediation (viii. 11); secondly, the divine law is presented to man in a written form, and remains an external command (viii. 10); in the third place, the old covenant is still imperfect with respect to the forgiveness of sin and the mercy of God (viii. 12). Consistently with this the commandment of the old covenant is characterized as weak and unfruitful (*ἀσθενῆς καὶ ἀνωφελής*), because it was not able to make a single thing perfect (*οὐδὲν ἐτελείωσε*, vii. 18, etc.). The revelation of the knowledge of God which the old covenant attests, is mediated on the one hand by angels, on the other hand by prophets: by angels, inasmuch as the Mosaic law is a "word spoken by angels" (*ὁ δὲ ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος*, ii. 2); an assumption which does not rest upon the words of the Old Testament, but on a tradition current in Israel, alluded to by the LXX. in Deut. xxxiii. 2, and directly adopted by Stephen, Acts vii. 53, comp.

xxxv. 38, and by Paul, Gal. iii. 19: *διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων*. The law was given by the mediation of angels, other revelations of God in the Old Testament by prophets, while the revelation of the new covenant was communicated by no less a person than the Son, the image of the Father, who stands high above the angels (i. 1, etc.). The centre and essence of the covenant between God and man is, with the author, the introduction of reconciliation. The question therefore turns on three points, the personal mediator, the local sanctuary, and the sin-offering itself. In all these respects the old covenant proves itself deficient. The Levitical priesthood, especially where the high priest who mediates reconciliation is concerned, is insufficient, in the first place because the high priest himself is compassed with infirmity, tainted with sin (*περίκειται ἀσθένειαν*, v. 2; *ἔχοντες ἀσθένειαν*, vii. 28), so that before he can offer up sacrifice for the sin of the people, he must first offer up sacrifice for his own sin (vii. 27). In the second place, the Levitical priesthood is insufficient because the priests are subject to death, and death puts an end to their priesthood, their priesthood is not permanent (vii. 23: *διὰ τὸ θανάτῳ κωλύεσθαι παραμένειν*), so that many priests are required. Again, the sanctuary in which the reconciliation takes place is imperfect, because earthly in its creation, it is a *ἅγιον κοσμικόν* (ix. 1); the tabernacle, with all its appurtenances, is erected by men, made with hands (viii. 2, ix. 24; comp. ver. 11: *χειροποίητα*). Finally, the worship itself, with its centre the sin-offering, is defective, because by virtue of the ordinances belonging to it (*δικαιώματα λατρείας*, ix. 1) it must be daily repeated, and effects

no permanent reconciliation (x. 11); while in its holiest functions it is restricted exclusively to the person of the high priest, and to one day in the whole year (ix. 7). But the sacrifices themselves being animals (*αἷμα ἀλλότριον*, ix. 25; *αἷμα ταύρων*, etc., x. 4), can only effect an outward purification, and cannot purge the conscience from guilt or procure forgiveness of sins (ix. 13, 22). The final aim of sacrifice, the perfecting, *i.e.* the liberating of the conscience, is therefore not attained by the Levitical sacrifices (*κατὰ συνείδησιν τελειῶσαι*, ix. 9); they tend rather to bring sins to remembrance (*ἀνάμνησιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, x. 3). Hence it is not too much to say that the Mosaic law is weak and unprofitable (*ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελές*, vii. 18). The old covenant has its aim not in itself, but in something beyond and above it; it is only a shadow and type of the new covenant with its good things (*ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιά*, viii. 5, x. 1).

2. The infinite *superiority of the new covenant* to the old rests first and foremost on the person of its *mediator*. The old covenant required many priests, because they were all mortal men (vii. 23); moreover, they were subject to weakness and sin. But the Mediator of the new covenant is *one* who continues ever, and has an unchangeable priesthood (vii. 24). Christ is the perfect, unique Mediator, not only of divine revelation (i. 1), but also of the reconciliation and the fulfilment of all the promises, because He is the *Son of God*, the first-begotten (i. 6: *πρωτότοκος*), *i.e.* above all creatures, infinitely exalted even above the angels (i. 4, etc.), for He is "the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of His person" (ver. 3); *i.e.* the absolute image of God, in whom His essence is

fully expressed (comp. Baur, *N. T. Theol.* p. 235; Riehm, *Lehrbegriff des Hebr.* p. 279, etc.); in other words, He is of the same nature with the Father. This harmonizes with the fact that the Son Himself is addressed as *ὁ θεός* (i. 8), that all the angels worship Him (i. 6), and that the very same divine honour is paid to Him as it is customary throughout the Scriptures to ascribe to God the Father (xiii. 21: *ὃ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*). In short, the Godhead of Christ is attested in this Epistle as clearly and unequivocally as possible. We cannot wonder that eternity and pre-existence are attributed to Him. The very expression: *εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον*, x. 5, used of Christ's incarnation, implies His pre-existence; and eternity is still more clearly ascribed to Him when, as the type of Melchisedec, He is said to have *μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος*. He, the eternal Son of God, is the instrument not only of the creation of the world (i. 2), but also of its preservation (i. 3: *φέρων τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ*, He upholds all things by the word of His power). To Him, by divine appointment, belongs the sovereignty of the world, the inheritance of all things (i. 2: *ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων*). But the allegation that "Christ as a purely divine being is therefore removed to the sphere of the supersensuous" (Baur, *N. T. Theol.* p. 236), is refuted by the testimony of the Epistle to the *true humanity* of Jesus Christ. The author emphatically declares that the Son of God "took not on Him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, wherefore in all things it behoved Him to be made like unto His brethren" (ii. 17, etc.); *i.e.* that He had a true human nature, and partook of flesh and blood like

other children of God, could suffer death (ii. 14), and feel the closest sympathy with His brethren (iv. 15). He felt all our weaknesses, and was tempted (to sin) in all points like as we are (*κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα*, iv. 15), but with the one distinction that He had no sin (*χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας*). The greater the stress laid upon the similarity between Christ and mankind, both quantitatively (*κατὰ πάντα*) and qualitatively (*καθ' ὁμοιότητα*), the more decided is the difference in the complete sinlessness of the Redeemer, which is designated in another context, ix. 14, by the Greek word *ἄμωμος*. As it was necessary that a sacrificial animal should be corporeally spotless according to the Levitical precept, so Christ offered Himself to God on our behalf as a morally unblemished sacrifice. It is plain from the context that this moral purity and sinlessness has reference to the life of Jesus *before* His atoning death, and not to His perfection *after* the crucifixion and resurrection (contrary to Bleek, *Comm.*). Christ could only make this perfect offering through the instrumentality of the Spirit dwelling in Him, and the living power of the eternal God vouchsafed to Him on this account (*διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου* in the same passage; comp. Riehm, p. 525, etc.). What is here expressed by *ἄμωμος*, is more fully described in vii. 26 by *ὅσιος, ἄκακος, ἀμίαντος, κεχωρισμένος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν*: *ἄκακος*, harmless, free from guile; *ἀμίαντος*, not having the smallest stain of impurity, completely and essentially separated from sin, these three predicates forming in fact a climax, which, however, is negative throughout; while *ὅσιος*, sanctified by God, is positive in character. This last includes especially a God-fearing, pious frame of mind (*εὐλάβεια*, v. 7 :

“and was heard in that He feared”), humility by virtue of which He took no honour unto Himself (v. 5 : οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐδόξασεν, etc.), fidelity and obedience which He manifested towards God in His holy calling (ii. 17, iii. 2 : πιστὸν ὄντα τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν ; v. 8 : ἔμαθε τὴν ὑπακοήν ; comp. x. 7-9 : ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου). His obedience and fidelity in His high-priestly calling formed the well-spring of His compassion toward sinners (ii. 17 : ἐλεήμων ; iv. 15 : δυνάμενος συμπαθῆσαι) ; His endurance of shame and suffering, His steadfast faith in which He became our author and finisher (ὁ τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτής, xii. 2, etc.). In all these respects He is our truly human exemplar as to religious feeling and moral conduct ; the more so because He had a genuinely human origin, a growth and development in practice and experience, which is consciously and purposely expressed by *μανθάνειν ὑπακοήν, ἀφ’ ὧν ἔπαθε*, v. 8 : *διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι*, ii. 10, etc. ; comp. ii. 17, where an inner origin and growth of the merciful, high-priestly sympathy and fidelity of Jesus as a result of His moral likeness to His brethren is clearly attested. This was enhanced by the humiliation and weakness which He suffered in the *ἡμέραι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*, v. 7, of His own free will (ii. 16), although even in this state He was and still remained the Son of God (v. 8 : *καίπερ ὢν υἱός*). By this path of discipline, suffering, and obedience the Mediator attained to *τελειώσις*, i.e. to internal, moral perfection (ii. 10 : *διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι*), to the perfect fulfilment of His divine calling (vii. 28 : *υἱὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένος*), and finally, to the absolute perfection of a state of participation in heavenly glory, exalted above weakness and suffering

(according to the context of the same passage). To this goal the Mediator attained by His resurrection (xiii. 20 : ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἐκ νεκρῶν) and ascension (vi. 20 : εἰσῆλθεν; ix. 12 : εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὰ ἄγια; comp. ver. 24 : εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν). The author manifestly does not take a sensuous view of the latter, as is shown by the expressions in iv. 14 : διεληλυθὼς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, and in vii. 26 : ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος. In conformity with the apostolic preaching, the author attests with peculiar emphasis the Redeemer's sitting at the right hand of God, i. 13, after Ps. cx. ; comp. ver. 3 : ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς ; viii. 1, x. 12, xii. 2. Its repeated description by μεγαλωσύνη, etc., shows that divine honour, power, and world-dominion are thought of; comp. i. 2 : κληρονόμος πάντων; ii. 8 : ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα; ver. 9 : δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένος. Believers expect His visible second advent to realize their complete salvation (ix. 28).

3. The Mediator of the new covenant is Jesus Christ as the *High Priest* without a parallel (ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας, iv. 14; ἱερεὺς μέγας ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ). He is this in two respects, both by virtue of His mild and merciful disposition toward sinners, His brethren, for whom He intercedes before God (ii. 17 : ἐλεήμων, etc., iv. 15, etc.), and also by virtue of His relation to God who called and appointed Him to the high-priesthood, v. 5, etc., *i.e.* as "a high priest after the order of Melchisedec," v. 10, vii. 1, etc., not as a Levitical high priest (κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ἀαρών); for He belonged to the tribe of Judah, not Levi (vi. 14), but as a High Priest of royal dignity and everlasting priestly atoning power (vii. 16 : κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου; comp. ver. 24 : ἱερωσύνη ἀπαράβατος).

Jesus Christ is the true and absolutely perfect High Priest—(1) because He is sinlessly holy, so that He had not, like a Levitical high priest, to present an offering first for His own sin (vii. 27); (2) because He no longer performs His office on earth but in heaven, in the invisible sanctuary not made with hands, of which the Mosaic tabernacle is a mere shadow¹ (viii. 2, etc., ix. 24); (3) because He did not offer a sacrifice of animals, but Himself as a sinless offering, and entered into the sanctuary through His own blood (ix. 12, x. 10); (4) by His redeeming death He established the new covenant, and effected the forgiveness of sins and an everlasting all-sufficient redemption, since He entered for us into the presence of God once for all (ix. 12: *ἐφάπαξ, αἰώνίαν λύτρωσιν εὐράμενος*; ver. 23, etc., x. 12, 14); (5) the heavenly, high-priestly ministration of Christ (*λειτουργία, λειτουργός*, viii. 2, 6) has an infinite superiority to the priestly performances of a Levitical kind, because it takes place in the true sanctuary, the holy of holies in heaven, and Christ presents Himself to God for us (ix. 24). The exalted Mediator exercises an everlasting, uninterrupted activity on our

¹ This point forms a peculiarity of the doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which was first recognised by the Socinians, but exaggerated, as if Christ had not been a High Priest on earth, but only became a High Priest by His exaltation. This view is still shared by Messner, *Lehre der Ap.* p. 297, etc., and Schenkel, *Christusbild*, p. 335. But there must be limitation, as Riehm, p. 46, etc., and Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 506, etc., have pointed out, so that while the Epistle to the Hebrews puts the central idea of Christ's high priesthood in heaven, after His exaltation, His sacrificial death was already estimated as a priestly performance. This is also recognised by Baur, *N. T. Theol.* p. 247, "that the sacrifice of Christ terminated at His entrance into heaven." Still the sacrifice offered on the cross, ix. 26, comp. ver. 14 and viii. 3, x. 12, is an indispensable and fundamental priestly transaction.

behalf by His intercession (*ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν*, vii. 25) and His love applying to us full salvation (*σώζειν εἰς τὸ παντελές*).

4. The covenant people of the New Testament become the people of God by divine calling and by the preaching of the message of salvation to individuals (*κλήσις ἐπουράνιος*, iii. 1; *κεκλημένοι*, ix. 15; *εὐηγγελισμένοι*, iv. 2, 6). But this is not effected by the call from without, the hearing of the word alone. Those who have heard may nevertheless come short, and lose the promised blessings (iv. 1, etc.) by unbelief (*ἀπειθεια*, iv. 6). A twofold condition is required for entrance among the people of God; a change of mind, *i.e.* turning away from dead works (vi. 1: *μετάνοια ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων*) which are not actually sinful, but deficient in that true life imparted by the Spirit of God. That this change of mind is, on the one hand, a work of God's grace, transforming and renewing the inmost mind of man, follows from vi. 6; but from what is said respecting Esau in xii. 17, it may be inferred that it is also an effect of human seeking and striving. Next to repentance and change of mind, *faith* is a condition of entrance into the new covenant (*πίστις ἐπὶ θεόν*, vi. 1, *i.e.* a turning of the mind toward God). The axiom that it is impossible to please God without faith, is clearly and unequivocally laid down in xi. 6; comp. x. 38, etc. This already implies that faith is not mere thought and knowledge, but a moral turning and attitude of the mind, full of confidence and joyful trust; comp. the utterance respecting faith in xi. 1: it is *ἐλπίζομένων ὑπόστασις*, steadfast confidence regarding the things that are hoped for, and *πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων*, an evidence, an assurance

of things not seen, therefore a matter of the heart. Unbelief, on the contrary, is a thing of the mind and will, ἀπιστία but not ἀπειθεια, disobedience towards God's holy will, mistrust, infidelity to God, proceeding from an evil heart (ἀπειθεια, iv. 6 ; καρδία πονηρὰ ἀπιστίας, iii. 12 ; unbelief is a turning away from God, ἀποστρέφεισθαι, xii. 25 ; ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ θεοῦ, iii. 12 ; ὑποστέλλεσθαι, x. 38 ; σκληρύνειν τὴν καρδίαν, iii. 8, 13). Because faith has to do with things hoped for, with the promises of God (xi. 1), therefore "hope" frequently in this Epistle takes the place of "faith;" instead of "profession of faith," the author speaks of "profession of hope" (x. 23: ὁμολογία τῆς ἐλπίδος).

If the preaching of the gospel find a willing hearing (ii. 1) with change of mind and faith (vi. 1), there is no further hindrance to entrance into the new covenant by baptism and the laying on of hands (in βαπτισμῶν διδαχῇ, vi. 2, the reference is mainly but not exclusively to baptism). Both acts, however, are conceived not as mere ceremonies, but chiefly as effectual means of grace, purifying the conscience from the guilt of sin by virtue of the atonement (x. 22), securing enlightenment (vi. 4: φωτισθέντες; comp. x. 26), the gift of the Holy Ghost (μέτοχοι γεννηθέντες πνεύματος ἁγίου, vi. 4), and an entrance into the eternal, unchangeable kingdom of God (βασιλεία ἀσάλευτος, xii. 28).

This leads to a direct conclusion as to the blessings embraced in *life in the new covenant*, namely, as a consequence of an enlightened knowledge of salvation (x. 26: ἐπίγνωσις τῆς ἀληθείας), the blessed enjoyment of reconciliation (vi. 4: γεύσασθαι τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου), and the foretaste of future happiness

(vi. 5: *γεύσασθαι δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*). It is the certainty of reconciliation, through faith, which assures the heart of God's favour (xi. 6: *εὐαρεστήσασθαι*) and of *δικαιοσύνη* (x. 38, xi. 4); hence the author calls the gospel of Christ the *λόγος δικαιοσύνης*, v. 13, *i.e.* the word which procures righteousness before God and bestows true life (*ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται*, x. 38). In accordance with the promise contained in Jer. xxxi. 33, believers become members of the people of God (viii. 10), even children of God (xii. 5, 7, etc.). The author, *con amore*, describes life in the new covenant as a joyful approach to God (iv. 16: *προσερχόμεθα μετὰ παρρησίας τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος*; comp. vii. 25, x. 1: *προσερχόμενοι*; ver. 22, xi. 6), a continual service (*λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι*, ix. 14; *λατρεύειν εὐαρέστων τῷ θεῷ*, xii. 28), with priestly offering up of sacrifice in word and deed, *i.e.* in thanksgiving and praise to God, in joyful confession (*θυσίαι αἰνέσεως — καρπὸς χειλέων ὁμολογούντων*, etc., xiii. 15) as well as in pious beneficence (*εὐποιία καὶ κοινωνία*, xiii. 16; *ἀγάπη καὶ καλὰ ἔργα*, x. 24). The *duties* of believers are thus indicated, the most essential of which are constancy of faith, steadfast trust in God and His promises, enduring strength of spirit, even under trials, reproaches, and persecutions (vi. 11: *πληροφορία τῆς ἐλπίδος ἄχρι τέλους — μακροθυμία*; x. 36: *ὑπομονή*). The practical aim of the Epistle is to strengthen the minds of the readers, to fortify them against indolence and moral deadness, and to preserve them from apostasy and covenant-breaking, which lead to fearful judgment. Instead of relapse and apostasy, believers are rather to strive after moral growth, to change their state of childish minority for the maturity and perfection (*τελειώσις*)

of manhood, to lay aside the first principles of Christian knowledge (*στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεοῦ*), and to rise to a fuller and more independent understanding and discernment (v. 12, etc.), to attain to the full assurance and strength of hope (*πληροφορία τῆς ἐλπίδος*, vi. 11), and in the power of Christ to strive after holiness (xii. 10, xiii. 1, etc., 20, etc.).

The ultimate aim of the covenant people of the New Testament is the perfect realization of the divine promises to believers (*κληρονομοῦντες τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν*, vi. 12, etc., *i.e.* the *σωτηρία*, that perfect blessedness which we can only attain through the mediation of Christ the Author and Finisher of our faith, xii. 2). This aim the author represents in colours drawn from the old covenant (Ps. xciv. 11) as the blessed rest of the people of God (iii. 7, etc., iv. 1, etc. : *κατάπαυσις θεοῦ*; *σαββατισμός*, ver. 9, the eternal sabbatism in the heavenly home, the Jerusalem above, xii. 22 : *πόλις θεοῦ ζῶντος Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπουράνιος*; comp. xiii. 14).

5. The foregoing short sketch of the ideas contained in the Epistle must impress the reader with its peculiarity. It combines qualities which seem to be contradictory; it gives the impression of a treatise, and is yet a genuine letter drawn from life and written for life, following definite aims; it is a practical exhortation (xiii. 22 : *λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως*). Its colouring is of the Old Testament cast, and yet the image which it projects belongs completely to the New Testament. How varying is the relation presented between the author and the Apostle Paul! Yet both the Church of Christian antiquity and the science of modern times have given quite opposite judgments on this subject. In the first centuries the

tradition of the Alexandrian Church attributed this Epistle to the Apostle Paul; while the Western, and particularly the Roman Church, denied his authorship. In like manner there is an opposition in the judgment of modern science respecting the character of the doctrine contained in the Epistle. Some, as Messner, *Lehre der Apostel*, p. 293, etc.; Köstlin, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1854, p. 462, etc.; Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 324, etc., declare the doctrinal system of the Epistle to be Pauline in essence; others, for example David Schulz, *Comm.* 1818; K. Planck, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1847, Heft 2-14, look upon it as un-Pauline. It is certain that the spiritual atmosphere which breathes upon us from the Epistle is thoroughly different from that of the Pauline Epistles. The latter take their stand upon religio-moral ground, while this Epistle has its root in the soil of religious worship. The correlatives round which, as poles, everything moves, are in the former the law and the gospel, in the latter the defective and the perfect priesthood. The author doubtless recognises the law also as a prominent pillar, besides the priesthood; but with him the priesthood and not the law is prescriptive: "For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law," vii. 12: μετατιθεμένης τῆς ἱερωσύνης — καὶ νόμου μετάθεσις γίνεται. Consequently the law is dependent on the priesthood, not the priesthood on the law. It is true, Paul gives a sacrificial meaning to the death of Christ on the cross, but does not ascribe priesthood to His person; while, on the other hand, the Epistle to the Hebrews never applies to the work of Christ the idea of the καταλλαγῆ, so full of meaning for Paul (vi. 38). Consistently with this the Epistle to the Hebrews does not, like

Paul, make Christ's crucifixion and resurrection the two poles, but His death and heavenly priesthood. While Paul contrasts law and grace, righteousness by works and righteousness by faith, this Epistle makes the new covenant superior to the old, inasmuch as it possesses the true service of God, the true sanctuary, the heavenly holy of holies, the one ever-valid offering, the eternal High Priest. Nowhere in this Epistle, as with the Gentile apostle, do we find evangelical freedom treated as emancipation from the Mosaic law; on the contrary, its renunciation is here imposed on Jewish Christians as a duty, because they are no longer bound to the Levitical worship. The author has not in view the coequal universality of grace and sin, not the calling of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God, but only the "seed of Abraham," the people of Israel (ii. 16, etc., xiii. 12), as called to the salvation of Christ. Nevertheless, in his judgment of the Mosaic law he goes even farther than Paul: for Paul takes the *νόμος* to be *πνευματικός* (Rom. vii. 14), while the present author calls it a *νόμος ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης* (vii. 16), which is weak and unprofitable, and makes nothing perfect (ver. 18, etc.), for which reason this law is changed and done away (*ἀθέτησις*, comp. viii. 13: *τὸ παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ*); while the divine kingdom of the new covenant can never be moved (xii. 28), since Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever (xiii. 8).

All these things being taken into account, it is inappropriate to represent this Epistle as the production of a Pauline school, or as being characterized by Paulinism however modified by Alexandrian thought (Pfleiderer, p. 325, etc.). But neither can we

fully accede to the view of Riehm and Weiss, that the roots of the doctrinal view given in the Epistle lie in "early apostolic Jewish Christianity as distinct from Paulinism." The view and doctrine of the Epistle by no means belong to the early apostolic period. We find, on the contrary, a very important advance, due to the course of events generally, and in particular to the calling and lifework of the Gentile apostle. The view of the author presupposes not so much the "results of the Pauline doctrinal system" (Pfleiderer), as the facts of the Pauline activity. K. Planck's estimate of this Epistle as "the complete antithesis to the Pauline conception, emanating from Jewish Christianity" (Zeller, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1847, p. 158), seems to us the more correct, inasmuch as it recognises the perfect originality of the mode of thought presented in the Hebrew Epistle. In conclusion, we must not omit gratefully to acknowledge that Riehm's excellent work, *der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefs*, etc., 1858, which in its way forms a worthy counterpart to Fr. Bleek's *Classical Commentary*, 1828, pp. 36, 40, has rendered most essential service.

FOURTH SECTION.

THE LATER DOCTRINE OF THE APOSTLE PETER.

In order to know the gospel as the Apostle Peter preached it at a later time, we keep to the first Epistle, which was formerly acknowledged as genuine and canonical, and has only recently been disputed, as

appears to us on insufficient grounds.¹ We shall examine the second separately, which formerly belonged to the Antilegomena, and compare it with the first.

¹ The Petrine authorship of the first Epistle has been denied, partly because of its lack of individual and personal references with regard to author as well as readers, and partly on account of its alleged comparative deficiency in definite and original doctrine, as also its many Pauline echoes. The former consideration loses in weight if, in conformity with the superscription, we assume that Peter addressed the letter not to a single Church, but (since with six others it goes by the name of *ἱπιστολὴ καθολικὴ εἰσι ἐγκύκλιος*) to a group of Churches in several districts of Asia Minor, which, moreover, were not founded by himself. The doctrinal contents excite suspicion in proportion to the strength of our prejudice regarding the Ebionite mode of thought in Peter. With respect to the alleged Pauline correspondences, there can be no doubt that Schleiermacher's observation (*Werke*, vol. viii., *Einleitung in's N. Test.* p. 402, etc.) is thoughtful and to the point: "We must be very cautious in determining from the language what is to be regarded as a product of the Pauline school. It is a necessary but difficult task to distinguish what is definitely Pauline and what has its basis only in the transition of Christianity into elements outside Judaism. If we consider how great a share Paul had in the spread of Christianity in districts predominantly Greek, that his letters were probably the first writing of Græco-Christian import, we must naturally assume that he exercised great influence on the formation of the Greek language for Christian subjects; and that those who afterwards trod in his footsteps would find it difficult to depart far from the idiom that had arisen in this way." Moreover, those who find no sufficient reasons for doubting the genuineness of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians must concur in Hug's view (*Einl.* ii. p. 160), which Thiersch, *Versuch*, p. 274, etc., and others follow, that Peter, since he wrote after Paul to Churches in the same provinces, had his letters in mind. The idea of inverting the relation, assuming that Paul, when composing his Epistle to the Romans, etc., wrote some passages from his recollection of what he had read in Peter (Weiss, *der petrinische Lehrbegriff*, 1855, pp. 374-434), is less happy and convincing than bold. We rather adhere to the view that now and again words of Paul floated before the mind of Peter, believing this to be quite consistent, however, with the spiritual independence of Peter; for it is rash to make apparent resemblances of this kind a reason for assuming forthwith a want of independence, or the concealment of views, as Baur does, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, p. 236.

The *doctrine* of the Epistle moves round its practical aim, viz. to strengthen the Christian Churches of Asia Minor¹ in faith and patience under their sorrows and persecutions, present and future. To this purpose not only the doctrinal details, but also the moral maxims of the Epistle are directed, especially the exhortation to keep a good conscience, lest persecution be just and well merited. This Epistle is essentially distinct from that of James, in that its moral maxims are far more closely interwoven with specifically Christian dogma, though in other respects there is great affinity between them, especially in the prevailing Old Testament tone.

The peculiar leading idea of the Epistle appears to us to be the indissoluble connection and *succession of suffering and glory* in the life of the believing

¹ Without doubt these Churches were mixed, composed of Jewish and Gentile Christians, but probably contained a large majority of converted heathen. The circumstance is not without importance in estimating the Epistle and the substance of its doctrine. This view has been the prevailing one since Steiger's *Commentary* appeared in 1832; while formerly, from the time of the Church Fathers, the readers were supposed to be Jewish Christians. In the year 1855, Weiss, *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 104, etc., again defended the latter view, assuming that at least the preponderating number of the Churches of Asia Minor consisted of Jewish Christians, the Gentile Christians being lost, as it were, in the Jewish Christian majority. In favour of this view he appeals to the inscription i. 1: *ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς Πόντου*, etc., and contends that there is no trace of *διασπορά*, the historical designation of the Jews outside Palestine, ever having been used in a more general sense. But Jas. i. 1 affords no proof of this, but rather of the contrary, inasmuch as *δώδεκα φυλαὶ αἱ ἐν τῇ διασπ.* contains the limitation to Israel. There is absolutely nothing against the usual view that Peter—since in the Epistle he looks at things mainly from an Old Testament point of view, and regards Christians as the true people of God (ii. 9)—should also look upon the Holy Land and the city of Jerusalem as the centre of believers (without distinction of national descent), and should regard those Christians dwelling outside as the “dispersion of the

Christian as in that of Jesus. Peter reminds his readers that the spirit of Christ which was in the prophets intimated beforehand: τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα, καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας, i. 11. "It is better," he exclaims, "if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing. For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit," 1 Pet. iii. 17, 18. This unity is still more obvious where by way of encouragement the apostle exhorts his readers in these words: "But rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when His glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy," iv. 13; comp. v. 10: ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χρ. Ἰησοῦ, ὀλίγον people of God;" comp. Huther, *Comm.*; Koch, *Petri theologia*, p. 181, etc. The familiarity of the readers with the Old Testament, assumed by the Epistle, does not point to Jewish Christian readers any more than many of the Pauline Epistles which are undeniably addressed to Gentile Christians, e.g. the Epistle to the Galatians. On the other hand, passages such as iii. 6, iv. 3, etc., serve as a *positive proof* of its destination for Gentile Christian readers, and Weiss has not succeeded in weakening their evidence. When in the former passage Peter tells Christian women: ἢς ἐγενήθητε τίκνα, ἀγαθοποιῶσαι, referring to Sara, it is quite inadmissible to take ἀγαθοποιῶσαι as the foundation of the ἐγενήθητε: *through* good works ye are children of Sara, i.e. have become morally like her. This does not hold, for the reason that ἀγαθοπ. stands by itself, and like ἰσοτασσόμεναι, ver. 5, belongs to ἐκόσμου ἑαυτάς, and therefore the *having become* is less applicable to native Israelite women. And why should heathen women have had "no particular interest" in becoming daughters of the pious ancestress of the people of God? Besides, iv. 3: τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν κατεργάσθαι πιστορευμένους ἐν εἰδωλοκατρίαις, can only by constraint be made to refer to Jewish Christians, for the assumption that εἰδωλοκατρίαις is to be taken in a wider sense is to no more purpose than the appeal to the Pauline passages, which stand in quite another connection, Rom. ii. 22; Eph. v. 5; Col. iii. 5.

παθόντας αὐτὸς καταρτίσει. In harmony with this, he calls himself: μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων, ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός, v. 1.

In this idea of the divinely - ordered union of suffering and glory in Christ and His members, closely associated with the main practical object of the Epistle, is contained an abundant wealth of truths, both as regards the person of Christ and His redeeming work, and respecting the appropriation of salvation, Christian faith and Christian hope. It is not, however, to be supposed that all the ideas and doctrines of the Epistle can be analytically evolved from the thought just expressed.

Peter not only makes the general declaration with respect to Christ, His person and His work, that He is the Lord, the Son of God, but particularly affirms that He was foreordained by God from eternity to be the Redeemer (1 Pet. i. 20); and that His Spirit was active in the prophets, and testified beforehand of grace in Christ, of suffering and glory (1 Pet. i. 10). The latter statement contains more than the former, viz. that Christ existed not only ideally in the foreknowledge and eternal foreordination of God, but was actually present by the indwelling of His Spirit in the prophets, even before His historical appearance. Most recent expositors understand the words: τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, as indicating a real pre-existence of Christ, as the Mediator of all revelation and spiritual gifts (*e.g.* Huther, Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 420, etc.). Schmid, *Newtest. Theol.* ii. p. 162, etc., after careful consideration, does not venture to extract this doctrine with certainty from the passage, mainly because the New Testament elsewhere makes the

Spirit proceed only from the manifested and exalted Christ. Weiss takes the same view, and declares the interpretation involving real pre-existence to be improbable, because "the glory is represented not as originally belonging to the Messiah, but as destined for Him in prophecy" (*N. T. Theol.* 4th ed. p. 161). But the *παθήματα* are also spoken of in the very same way. As a second reason, Weiss, p. 162, urges that in ver. 11, *Χριστός* is twice used, and in accordance with the Petrine doctrine, both times of the historical Christ, and cannot the first time (*τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ*) be understood of the pre-existing Christ. Consequently he understands the expression to mean that the eternal spirit of God, in which the decree of Messianic salvation was bound up from eternity, testified in the prophets of the future salvation, and afterwards enabled the Messiah Himself to carry out that decree. Beyschlag agrees in the main with this interpretation, *N. T. Christologie*, p. 121, etc. Other Petrine doctrine is taken by Weiss from the expression in Acts ii. 36. The apostle's insight may have grown, however, from the first Pentecost onwards. But if *Χριστός*, i. 11, both times denotes the personal Christ, first before then after His historical appearance, the name is not applied to different subjects. In any case it is much simpler to suppose that it refers both times to the person of Christ Himself, and to assume that Peter ascribes to the Redeemer personal existence and work as Mediator of the revelations of God, which thing however is only incidentally mentioned in the present connection. So also Koch, *Petri Theol.* p. 163, etc. Christ appeared, "was revealed," in the last times for the sake of those to be redeemed (i. 20) in a

human, mortal body, subject to suffering (σάρξ, iii. 18, iv. 1), and with a spirit capable of higher animation (πνεῦμα, iii. 18, etc.), consequently in actual humanity; which does not, however, exclude the idea that He is actually the Son of God (comp. i. 3, πατήρ), for a word used of Jehovah in the Old Testament is transferred to Jesus in ii. 3 (Weiss, *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 212). His earthly life was sinless in word and deed, perfectly righteous and typical (ii. 21, etc., iii. 18). His sufferings in particular were a type for believers; a point of view peculiar to the Epistle. Christ suffered, the just for the unjust, as a lamb without blemish (iii. 18, i. 19), silent, meek, and patient (ii. 23), enduring death and shedding His blood for our sins. He bore our sins in His own body on the tree (ii. 24) that we might be sprinkled and sanctified by His sacrificial blood (i. 2), and that He might bring us to God (iii. 18) in order that we, redeemed from vain conversation received by tradition, might be freed from sin and live unto righteousness (i. 18, ii. 24); and that, because He suffered, we should no longer serve human lusts but the will of God (iv. 1, etc.). Thus the suffering and crucified Christ is the Redeemer from guilt and from the service of sin; by His sufferings He has purchased for sinners not merely reconciliation and the forgiveness of sins, but also the power of sanctification. Comp. Laichingen, *Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie*, 1877, p. 289, etc. In almost every instance where Peter alludes to the efficacy of Christ's sufferings, he associates the reconciling and the sanctifying power, making them inseparable; and in i. 18, etc., urges the fact of redemption by the precious blood of Christ from vain conversation received by tradition as a motive

to holy living: ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ, ἐλυτρώθημε—ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ. Christians are delivered and redeemed from a state of heathen life and conversation (as formerly Israel from Egyptian bondage); the price paid, the ransom (λύτρον, comp. Matt. xx. 28), is not anything corruptible however valuable, as silver and gold; but is something costly and precious, viz. the blood of Christ (τίμιον αἷμα Χριστοῦ) poured out in death, which, as compared with φθαρτά, is incorruptible. The incomparable and infinite value of the blood of Christ shed in His death on the cross is confirmed by the addition ὡς ἀμνοῦ, which points not to a resemblance, but to a foundation: utpote qui sit agnus. That this is an echo from the Old Testament cannot be disputed, though it is still doubtful whether the apostle had in view a sacrificial lamb in general, or the Passover lamb in particular: De Wette, Huther, Schmid, ii. p. 179, etc., and Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* 167, note 6, repudiating his exposition in *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 278, etc., think that the allusion is to sacrificial victims in general. This interpretation is certainly favoured by the context rather than that which assumes a reference to the Passover lamb. The perfect purity and sinlessness of Jesus, corresponding to the spotlessness of a sacrificial lamb, conditions the costliness of the blood that is shed, and at the same time its efficacy as the means of redemption from a sinful life. Moral renovation is unmistakably the object of the thought. Accordingly a moral sanctifying power is ascribed to the death of Christ, though not without the accessory idea of the atoning offering which conditions moral remission and deliverance. Still more expressive is

the passage, ii. 24, where Peter, as an encouragement to slaves to be patient, reminds them that Christ also ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ver. 21, on your behalf (for the context points to nothing further). The apostle describes the suffering of Jesus in ascending gradation — (1) as innocent, ver. 22; (2) as patient, ver. 23; (3) as vicarious and expiatory, ver. 24: ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν, οὐ τῷ μώλωπι ἰάθητε. Here, as in i. 18, etc., deliverance from sin and (positively) a life consecrated to righteousness, *i.e.* to obedience towards God, is designated as the aim of Jesus' death. Consequently moral renovation and sanctification are also attested as the effect of Christ's death. But this moral effect is conditioned by His vicarious, atoning death. For when Peter, referring to Isa. liii. 4, etc., esp. ver. 12, expresses himself thus: τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν, it is impossible to mistake the idea of substitution, except by closing eye and ear to his intentional and emphatic association of ἡμῶν and αὐτός (hence its presence in this passage is acknowledged not only by Schmid, ii. p. 178, etc., and Weiss, *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 265; *N. T. Theol.* p. 166; but also by Koch, *Petri theol.* p. 171). But while Peter characterizes the vicarious act of Christ more definitely as ἀναφέρειν (τὰς ἁμ. ἡμ.) ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, he seems at the same time to regard the wood of the cross on which the body of Jesus was lifted up, and to which it was fastened (ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ), as the altar on which Jesus placed His body as a sacrifice laden with our sins, consequently our sins themselves; so that He appears in the character of a priest, and His death on the cross is a

priestly act. This is in substance the view of Hofmann, *ante*, ii. 1, p. 327, etc.; but he is wrong in stigmatizing as an arbitrary assumption the view that ἀναφέρειν means simply "to carry" (as Huther, Koch, *ante*, and others assert), for in the original passage in the Old Testament, which even Hofmann quotes in this connection, ἀμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκε (LXX.) obviously means nothing more than this: He bore the sins of many. But the words ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον always lead up to such expressions as θυσίας ἀναφέρειν, etc.; comp. esp. Jas. ii. 21; and the supposition of Weiss, *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 267, *N. T. Theol.* p. 166, when, in order to evade the idea of sacrifice, he explains it: "Christ being lifted up on the cross, bore the punishment of sin," is artificial. The simplest and most faithful interpretation leads therefore to the conclusion that in this passage it is not merely a vicarious suffering and death, but in particular a vicarious sacrificial death on the cross, which is represented as that act of Christ whose aim and operation was the reconciliation of sinners, and with it their moral renovation.

In a similar way the reconciling and sanctifying elements in the death of Christ are put together in iii. 18: Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ θεῷ. To bring us to God, *i.e.* the bringing back those who were estranged and separated by sin (reconciliation with God), and their effectual transference into near communion with God, was the object of the death of Jesus (Bengel has the most comprehensive explanation of the words). But since He alone, who is free from sin and holy, may draw nigh to God, the medium of reunion with God was the vicarious (δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων; the connecting of

δικ. ἀδικ. indicates the sense of ὑπέρ), guilt-cleansing and reconciling death of Christ, endured once for all (ἄπαξ).

Even in the inscription of the Epistle where the readers are called ἐκλεκτοὶ—εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, i. 2, sanctification (ὑπακοή) and reconciliation are joined together as effects of the death of Jesus; and since the reference to Ex. xxiv. 8 is subject to no doubt, the blood shed upon the cross is here looked upon as covenant blood (for Israel was sprinkled with it), as the blood of the new covenant in fact (comp. Matt. xxvi. 28), which, appropriated by sprinkling, cleanses souls from all guilt, reconciles them, and incorporates them with the people of God; comp. Huther, Weiss, *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 269; *N. T. Theol.* p. 166; and Hofmann, ii. 2. 168, who makes the passage refer to baptism, although the words give no support to that interpretation. If we rightly understand the intimation conveyed in the passage, the atoning death of Jesus embodies an expression partly of the covenant-offering and partly of the sin-offering, conceptions and transactions of the old covenant being continually in the apostle's mind while he discusses the meaning of Christ's death on the cross, having for its purpose the forgiveness of sins and reconciliation with God, and as a necessary consequence, moral renovation and sanctification.

The *work among the dead* mentioned in iii. 19, etc., comp. iv. 6, viz. the fact that Christ being put to death in the flesh, was quickened in the spirit, and went in the spirit to preach to the spirits in prison,—is the transition from suffering to glory. The former passage (iii. 18, etc.) sets out with Christ's

atoning death, and says of Him: *θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκί, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, ἀπειθήσασιν ποτε ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε κατασκευαζομένης τῆς κιβωτοῦ, etc.* The difficulty here lies not in the words but in the thought; and that only if prejudice or interest stand in the way; comp. the history of interpretation in Weiss, *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, pp. 216–227. We ask (1) with *whom* has Christ here to do? the answer being with the *πνεύματα ἐν φυλακῇ*—*ἀπειθήσαντά ποτε*, etc., *i.e.* with the departed souls of those men who are in prison in the invisible world, because formerly, before the flood, they were impenitent. Baur, *theology. Jahrb.* 1856, p. 215, etc., puts forward the view that the *πνεύματα* were those *angels* who, by their seductions, brought about the depravity of mankind before the flood; comp. 2 Pet. ii. 4. But he has no proof to give for this surprising assertion. On the other hand, the use of *πνεύματα* to denote the departed souls of men (now saved, now lost) is attested by Heb. xii. 23; the expression *ἀπειθεῖν*, as well as the antithesis to the eight souls that were saved, clearly proves that the allusion is to the spirits of men, and not to higher spirits, to whom, moreover, neither *μακροθυμία θεοῦ* nor *ἀπεκδέχεσθαι* is applicable.

We ask (2) *when* and *in what state* had Christ to do with the spirits of the unconverted contemporaries of Noah? Hofmann, ii. 1, p. 335, etc., declares it an error to suppose that this activity took place between the death and resurrection; he understands the words to mean that Christ, before He became man, went in spirit, without visible presence, and

preached to the contemporaries of Noah in their lifetime (predicting the judgment of the flood, and calling upon them to repent), consequently to those who now since their death await judgment. But Hofmann can only defend his artificial interpretation by the exercise of "much ingenuity," e.g. by connecting ποτε ὅτε ἀπέξεδ. immediately with ἐκήρυξεν and such like expedients, while the words, if read without prejudice, imply something quite different. Special consideration is due to the continual succession of time in vv. 18–22: Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν—θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκί, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι, ἐν ᾧ—πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν—ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν; iv. 5: κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, which leads from the death of Christ and the state of death, through the resurrection, to His entrance into heaven and His second coming to judge the world. Ver. 19, etc., refers plainly to an event occurring not *after* the resurrection of Jesus (Huther, p. 134, etc.), but between His death and resurrection. Weiss, *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 231, etc.; *N. T. Theol.* p. 162, etc., while accepting this view, inconsistently makes ζωοποιηθεὶς, ver. 18, synonymous with ἐγερθεὶς; here, as elsewhere, the word implies far more (as Hahn, *neutestamentl. Theol.* i. 440, note, correctly observes), viz. to make alive; when the body of Christ was put to death, His spirit was so little affected by this circumstance that He became partaker at once of a higher *life*, of the fulness of life. It was in this condition (ver. 19: ἐν ᾧ, sc. πνεύματι), as spirit, but full of life and power, that He went to the spirits; Bengel: "Christus cum viventibus egit in carne; cum spiritibus in spiritu."

Question 3: In what did the agency of Jesus in the region of the dead consist? The answer is given in a single word, *ἐκήρυξεν*, He announced as a herald. Peter uses a word which is quite customary in its application to the apostolic announcement of salvation, of the gospel, on which account it is natural to assume in the present passage also an announcement of accomplished salvation by the Saviour Himself, so that Christ proclaimed repentance and forgiveness to those that had died impenitent before the time of His appearance. However “*præconii vocabulum in sua latitudine accipiendum est, ut intelligatur fuisse quibusdam evangelicum—ad consolationem, aliis et fortasse plerisque, legale, ad terrorem,*” Bengel. Nothing whatever is said of the result of the *κηρύσσειν*. We find more in the cognate passage, iv. 6, which still remains to be considered. The apostle says of the heathen enemies and blasphemers of the faithful, that they shall give account to him that is ready *κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς*, ver. 6: *εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη, ἵνα κριθῶσιν μὲν κατὰ ἀνθρώπουσ σαρκί, ζῶσι δὲ κατὰ θεὸν πνεύματι*. The words: “the gospel was preached also to them that are dead,” cannot properly be taken to mean that it was preached in their lifetime to those now dead (Bengel, Hofmann, ii. 1, p. 336, etc.); for the twice occurring *νεκροί* cannot be applied to *κρίναι* in a sense different from that in which it is applied to *εὐηγγελίσθη*, without doing violence to the words, *i.e.* as certainly as the *νεκροί* are dead and must first be waked when Christ comes to judge them at His reappearance, so certainly were the *νεκροί* no longer alive at the time when the gospel was preached to them (*εὐηγγελίσθη*),

but were already dead. On the other hand, iii. 19, etc., favours the idea that here too allusion is made to an occurrence taking place after death. Accordingly, with Huther and Baur, *ante*, p. 217, we take the word *εὐηγγελίσθη* in its only established sense, as passive and impersonal, but cannot avoid the conclusion, looking at iii. 19, that this preaching of the gospel was the work of Christ Himself. The question still remains: *To what dead* was the message of salvation brought? De Wette explains *νεκροί* by iii. 20, thus limiting its range to the race before the flood; but the context implies that the *νεκροί*, iv. 5, 6, must be understood in an unlimited sense, as in the same condition and reaching to the same extent. The article certainly is wanting, and the conception of totality is not emphasized, but only the idea of the state after death, "the gospel was preached also to them that are dead;" but the want of the article gives no warrant for the limitation to a *portion* of the dead. Accordingly we explain iii. 19, etc. (with Huther, Weiss, *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 228, etc.), by the subsequent passage, maintaining that Noah's contemporaries are here specially named, possibly with reference to the words of Jesus in Luke xvii. 26, and in consideration of the exceeding depravity and obduracy of that race, without any intention of limiting the *πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν* to them exclusively, a theory which to some extent explains the omission of the article before *ἀπειθήσασι* (iii. 19). The two passages would thus throw light on each other, for they must be taken in connection, notwithstanding Baur's objection; the former passage explains the condition of the dead, left undetermined by the latter, and the period of the mysterious event, as well

as the agent, viz. Christ Himself; the latter passage, on the other hand, throws light on the former with regard to the extent (*νεκροί* generally), essence, and purport of the preaching activity (an *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι*), and its aim, viz. that the dead "might be judged according to men in the flesh (according to their earthly and sensuous nature, viz. by death, corruption, and the state in Hades), but live according to God in the spirit." The aim of the preaching, of whose result, however, nothing is said, must therefore be unquestionably salutary, originating in grace. Compare the careful disquisition by Schmid, *ante*, pp. 181, etc., 170, etc., and Messner, *ante*. The ecclesiastical term "descent into hell" is not happily chosen, for the words of the apostle contain no indication of a descent on the part of Jesus in spirit to hell, to the place of torment for souls that are finally damned. The reference is merely to Sheol, the kingdom of the dead in the invisible world, where departed souls await their final judgment and destiny, doubtless in a state conformable to their conduct in the life of the body. It is worthy of note that by this unveiling, Christ's work of redemption assumes a relation, absolute in its comprehensiveness, to humanity as a whole, not only to the world of the present and the future, but also to the world of the past.

Peter lays special stress on the resurrection of Jesus: God raised up Jesus from the dead; His resurrection is the foundation of faith, for by Christ we believe in God that raised Him up (i. 21); and only by virtue of His resurrection do we obtain a good conscience toward God, being reconciled to Him (iii. 21). By the resurrection of Jesus God has

begotten us again unto a lively hope (i. 3). Christ is gone into heaven, and is now at the right hand of God, *i.e.* in possession of divine honour and dominion, angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto Him (iii. 22); the Father has given Him a glory (i. 4) that shall be revealed hereafter at His second coming (iv. 13; comp. v. 1, 4, i. 7, 13).

That the salvation effected by Jesus proceeds from unmerited grace, of which man by reason of sin is unworthy, but of which he stands in need, is clearly taken for granted by Peter, for in the passages discussed above he refers the whole atoning work of Christ immediately to *sin*, into which mankind had fallen, led away by transmitted habit and evil practices, becoming estranged from God (*e.g.* i. 18, ii. 24, etc., and other passages). The apostle's frequent and earnest exhortations to morality place human sinfulness in so strong a light that it is unnecessary to enter into each passage separately. One circumstance only may still be mentioned, *viz.* that Peter looks upon the world as an ungodly whole, and warns his readers against the hostile designs of the devil, the *ἀντίδικος* of believers (v. 8, etc.).

The *appropriation of salvation* in Christ, and the treading of the way through suffering to glory, are the result of calling, regeneration, and continual growth. We are *called* by God according to His mercy (ii. 9, etc., ver. 21), to His marvellous light, to blessing (iii. 9), to His eternal glory (v. 10). The *new birth* into Christian life is effected by God's power through the gospel, the word of God which lives and abides for ever (i. 23, etc.: *ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σποράς φθαρτῆς ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου, διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος*). The word of God

is characterized by *διά* as the means of regeneration, and this itself as a seed which by virtue of its nature and force is not corruptible but incorruptible, whose produce and fruit (prep. *ἐκ*) is the new life of the Spirit. By this interpretation justice is done to the verbal sense of *σπορά*, as well as to the difference of prepositions, and we may dispense, on the one hand, with the reference of the word *σπορά* to the Holy Ghost (de Wette, Schmid, ii. 202), which is certainly doubtful; and, on the other hand, with Huther's less intelligible statement, that *σπ. ἀφθ.* is not to be understood of the audible word of God, but is yet the word of God according to its inner, divine essence.

Regeneration itself is conditioned partly by human resolve freely and independently exercised (ii. 25: *ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα*, in a middle sense, ye have turned yourselves, returned to the shepherd), partly by divine causality and the efficacy of grace, which has its basis in the election and predestination of God (i. 1, etc.: *ἐκλεκτοὶ — κατὰ πρόγνωσιν θεοῦ πατρός*; ver. 3: *θεὸς ὁ ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς*). On the other hand, Peter traces back even continued unbelief to the decree of God, ii. 8, where of unbelievers it is said: *οἱ προσκόπτουσιν τῷ λόγῳ ἀπειθοῦντες, εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτέθησαν*. That to which they are "appointed," destined, is neither exclusively the *ἀπειθεῖν* (Calvin, Koch, *Petr. Theol.* p. 184, etc.) nor merely the *προσκόπτειν*, according to which only the punishment of unbelief, not unbelief itself, would be decreed by God (Bengel, Huther, Weiss, p. 137, etc.), but most naturally includes both (de Wette, Hofmann, i. 210). Accordingly Peter declares that even disobedience to God's word and the stumbling and fall consequent thereupon are not accidental or dependent purely on human volition,

but are the result of divine preordination and predestination. This thought already presupposes the presence of sinfulness; and free choice, far from being shut out, seems, by the use of *καί*, rather to be included; inasmuch as the thought finds appropriate place in the context of an *exhortation* to faith (contrary to Weiss, *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 139).

Entrance into a state of grace and salvation is effected, according to Peter, through *baptism*. He mentions it in connection with the flood (iii. 20, etc.) as that by which a few souls were saved in the ark: *δι' ὕδατος, ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεὸν δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. From this incidental expression we see clearly — (1) the undoubted *aim* and efficacy of baptism; it saves us (*σώζει*) from future judgment and destruction, and makes us partakers of *σωτηρία*; hence it is not merely a symbolical but an efficacious act, a means of grace; (2) the meaning ascribed to the visible sign in baptism, viz. water, is less clear, inasmuch as baptism is represented as the antitype of the deluge; just as eight souls were saved by water in the ark, so likewise baptism, its antitype, saves us. In what sense an antitype? not by virtue of the saving power of the water (Weiss, p. 313), for no such power is attributed to the flood, but by virtue of the removing, destroying, cleansing, and purifying efficacy of the water.¹ Our greatest difficulty lies in (3) what the apostle says respecting the *moral nature and sig-*

¹ Hofmann, ii. 2. 165; comp. the excellent words of the masterly and spiritual "Practical Commentary" of Archbishop Leighton (seventeenth century) on the First Epistle of Peter, vol. ii. p. 257: "The waters of the flood drowned the ungodly,—washed them away,

nificance of baptism. The negative position, that it is not "the putting away of the filth of the flesh," *i.e.* not a purification from bodily filth, requires no explanation. Expositors have had all the more trouble about the positive position. Bengel and after him Schmid, ii. p. 199, etc., take *συνειδ. ἀγ. ἔπερ. εἰς θ.* as "the petition of a good conscience to God;" de Wette and Huther take it as "the solemn promise of a good conscience toward God;" we decide in favour of the interpretation, earnest wish, request, prayer addressed to God *for* a good conscience, *i.e.* for the purifying of the conscience, for forgiveness of sins; an interpretation permitted by the usage of *ἐπερωτᾶν*, but demanded by the context, especially by the negative parallel *οὐ σαρκ. ἀποθ. ῥ.* (wherein is also the genitive of object), Hofmann, ii. 2, p. 166, etc.; Weiss, *petrin. Lehrbegriff*, p. 314, etc.; *N. T. Theol.* p. 147; Messner, p. 152, etc. Hence the moral essence of baptism from a human standpoint, is the earnest desire for forgiveness of sin. The new-born children of God must *grow* (ii. 2) unto salvation, in faith (i. 5, 8, etc.), in obedience to Christ and to the truth (i. 2, 14, 22), in sanctification, with a pure, God-fearing conduct (i. 2, 15). For this purpose there is required, on the one hand, a laying aside of all vice (ii. 1, iii. 10, etc.), and abstaining from fleshly lusts (i. 14, ii. 11, iv. 1-4, 15), self-control and sobriety (i. 13, iv. 7, v. 8); on the other hand, the fear of God (i. 17, iii. 14, etc.), love to Jesus, and communion with Him as the corner-stone and chief

them and their sin together, as one, being inseparable. Thus the waters of baptism are intended as a deluge to drown sin and to save the believer, who by faith is separated both from the world and from his sin; so it sinks, and he is saved."

shepherd (i. 8, ii. 4, etc., v. 4); finally, constant brotherly love, which covers a multitude of sins (of others), i. 22, ii. 17, iii. 8, iv. 8: ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν; comp. Prov. x. 12; Matt. xviii. 22. The catholic interpretation of God's grace-procuring love, in recent times defended only by de Wette in a modified form, cannot be reconciled with the aspect of the original passages. Reuss (*Hist. de la théol. chr.* ii. 584) has no foundation whatever for his assumption that "les bonnes œuvres — sont elles, qui doivent conquérir la grâce de Dieu, ii. 20;" for when Peter, speaking of innocent suffering, says: τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις παρὰ θεῶ, he only means that it is pleasing to God; comp. Koch, *ante*, p. 191. If we take also into consideration the moral instructions given respecting various domestic and social relations, we gain some little insight into the apostle's earnest and urgent utterances, directing his readers to careful and pure conversation in every particular. Mindful of the persecutions that were threatening, or had already broken out, he strives to strengthen and preserve them in faith, patience, and godliness.

Peter looks on the community of believers as the true people of God, as a royal priesthood, an holy nation (ii. 9), as a spiritual building, erected on Christ the foundation-stone, individuals being the living stones (ii. 4, etc.).

A principal motive with Peter for constancy in faith and Christian walk is the hope of *future glory* after present suffering. An undefiled and incorruptible inheritance is reserved for believers in heaven (i. 4); we are called by God in Christ Jesus to eternal glory (v. 10); a crown of glory that fadeth not away (v. 4), the salvation of the soul (i. 5, 10),

blessing (iii. 9), are ready to be revealed in the last time, when Christ will come again and manifest Himself in His glory, to judge the living and the dead (i. 7, 13, iv. 5, 13, v. 1, 4). Then shall His people, after being put to the proof, be rewarded by blessing and everlasting joy, honour and glory (i. 7, iv. 13, v. 4, 10). Peter is rightly called "the apostle of hope," inasmuch as Christian hope resting upon faith is seen throughout his teaching, and forms the central motive (Weiss, *petr. Lehrbegriff*, pp. 25, etc., 69, etc. etc.; *N. T. Theol.* p. 172, etc.).

We add some remarks respecting the peculiarities of the Epistle and its teaching.

First, the most noticeable characteristic is its predominant *basis in the Old Testament*. Those very doctrines and moral exhortations which are most important in the view of the apostle, he supports by the Old Testament; *e.g.* he presents the atoning death of Jesus as based on sacrificial rites (i. 19, comp. ver. 2), and the leading chapter of Isaiah, liii. (ii. 21, etc., comp. iii. 8). In ii. 3, etc., he unfolds the majesty of Christ as head of His Church, in the words of Isa. xxviii. 16, viii. 14, etc.; and in the same chapter (v. 9) describes the universal priesthood of believers in Mosaic language taken from Ex. xix. 6. In ii. 10 he again appeals to prophetic testimony (Hos. ii. 22) in favour of the conversion of the heathen, and makes the Old Testament the basis of his exhortations also, *e.g.* i. 15, iii. 10, etc. And these are only isolated examples. In fact, we may say that the author supports all his statements by the authority of the Old Testament, making it the universal medium of expression, in images and ideas. He presupposes throughout the unity of the new and

the old covenant, so that light is thrown on the Old Testament by the manifested revelation of God in Christ; for it is the Spirit of Christ that foretold in the prophets what is now fulfilled.¹ This self-absorption in the Old Testament is the more remarkable in the Epistle, for two reasons—(a) because it is addressed, if not exclusively, yet mainly to Gentile Christians; (b) because it is by no means legal and Judaistic in its conceptions, but rather genuinely Christian and evangelically free. It is noteworthy in this relation that there is no question of Mosaism proper, the word *νόμος* itself not once occurring in the Epistle. The greater is the importance attached to the promise and to Old Testament prophecy, for which reason Schmid, ii. p. 154, etc., is right in his assertion that Peter apprehends Christianity as *the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy*.² These phenomena point unmistakeably to the apostolic era, and betray the authorship of a Jewish apostle like Peter; for only on this assumption can we solve the problem of the close intermixture of Old Testament views with free, pure, large-hearted recognition of the truth in Christ Jesus.

Secondly, a further peculiarity is seen in the way in which the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus are spoken of. The passion is not only mentioned in a

¹ This idea is therefore already biblical and not patristic in its origin, as Ritschl (*Altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 307) supposes, who believes it to have been first expressed in Clement of Rome and Barnabas, as also in the Ignatian Epistles and Justin.

² E. Bonifas excellently remarks († in Montaubau), *L'Unité de l'enseignement apostolique*, 1866, p. 55, that all the peculiar doctrines of the Epistle are grouped around the following central idea: "l'Évangile accomplissement des promesses et promesse à son tour."

general way, but is carried on as it were continuously. The meek conduct of Jesus, His silent endurance of all reviling and accusations, His quiet patience even unto the cross, even to the pouring out of His blood and the moment of departure (ii. 22. etc., i. 19),—all this is described *in such a manner* that we involuntarily get the impression of an eye-witness of the sufferings and crucifixion of Jesus, and of an eye-witness who had all these scenes before him as a disciple of Jesus, full of loving interest and sympathizing attachment, on whose mind they remained ineffaceably impressed. In short, we feel that one who writes in such a way is in fact in the properest sense a *μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων*, such as the writer in v. 1 professes to be.¹ On the other hand, it is noteworthy how decidedly and prominently faith and Christian hope are made to rest on the resurrection of Jesus. If we carefully estimate the importance of passages such as i. 3 and ver. 21, we shall find that the attitude of the soul to the fact of the resurrection of Jesus here depicted, is very similar to that which lies at the foundation of the Petrine discourses in the Acts of the Apostles, ii. 23, etc., ver. 32, etc., iii. 15, iv. 10. Here, too, we recognise one of the first disciples, whom the message, “the Lord is risen indeed,” has awakened to new life, to joyful confidence and certain hope.

Proceeding to examine and compare *the Second Epistle of Peter*, it becomes clear that the “everlasting kingdom” of Jesus Christ forms his *δύναμις καὶ παρουσία* (i. 2, 16, iii. 4–13), the great object he

¹ How de Wette in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, ii. 22, etc., can fail to see a living view of Jesus’ personality, such as Peter had experienced, we are unable to comprehend.

had in view. The "word of prophecy," the prophecy of the Old Testament Scripture (i. 19-21), shines in his view with so peculiar a splendour, that it may be said that Christianity appears in the second Epistle also as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy (Schmid, ii. 212, etc.), and the distinction between the old and new covenant is not emphasized. But on the other hand, we find certain indications of such a nature as to make the difference between the two Epistles appear very important. While in the first Epistle the *ἐλπίς* appears as the centre of inner Christian life on the ground of faith, we have in the second Epistle instead the *ἐπίγνωσις* or *γνώσις* resting upon faith, so that in fact the idea of hope never appears in the second Epistle, just as the idea of knowledge is absent from the first. Again, the fact of Jesus' propitiatory suffering and death, which plays so important a part in the first Epistle, is passed over in the second, with one solitary exception (ii. 1), in perfect silence; as also the idea of the inseparable union of suffering and glory so characteristic of the first Epistle. It is, moreover, a striking circumstance that opposition to errorists plays so important a part in the second Epistle, all else being subordinate; while in the first Epistle we do not find a single trace of errorists to be combated. For these reasons we are unable to look upon the second Epistle as an authentic source of Petrine doctrine, however grand the individual thoughts it may contain.

We are now in a position to compare the Petrine discourses in the Acts of the Apostles with the first Epistle with respect to its doctrinal contents and

peculiar character. Here a prevailing unity appears. This is already visible in the fact that Old Testament prophecy and its fulfilment in Jesus the Messiah, forms the chief point of view in the discourses to the Israelitish nation as well as in the Epistle addressed to the Christian Churches of Asia Minor. In the former, Peter views Christ chiefly under the image of "the servant of God" in Isaiah; in the latter, under the same image in conjunction with that of a patient lamb, drawn from the same source. Notwithstanding all this, it is yet unmistakeable that the perception of Christ's Godhead and of His antemundane existence is decidedly more advanced in the Epistle than in the discourses. The death of Jesus foretold by the prophets was at first regarded by Peter only as a thing divinely foreordained; now, with deeper personal insight he recognises its necessity and its reconciling aim. The apostle has grown in knowledge, and has been more fully initiated into the truth by the Holy Spirit. Peter had formerly, Acts ii. 24, 27, 31, said that it was not possible for Jesus to remain in death, in the kingdom of the dead, that He could not see corruption; hence what he now reveals to us of Christ's descent into the kingdom of the dead is consistent with the idea of progress. At the feast of Pentecost and even later, the apostle still looked on the resurrection of Christ as the foundation on which faith and all hopes of the believer rest. As Peter had once required repentance and baptism into Jesus as a condition of the forgiveness of sin and the gift of the Spirit, so now baptism is in his view the earnest desire of a conscience reconciled and purified by forgiveness, a means of grace in addition to the living and regenerating word of God.

The perception is deepened and advanced, but the fundamental truth in which his soul lives is one and the same. As the apostle had previously foretold that God would also call those who were afar off (Acts ii. 30; comp. x. 14, etc.), he is now able to write even to Christians who had formerly been heathen, but are called to partake of the blessing (1 Pet. i. 15, ii. 4, iii. 9); and considers them incorporated with the people of God as true Israel (i. 1: *διασπορά*; ii. 9, etc.). As the return of Jesus to fulfil all things had been once his highest prospect, the hope of glory and of seeing Christ again (i. 8, etc.) is always the element in which his spirit lives and is quickened, the foretaste of the *ἀνάψυξις*, Acts iii. 19. But his spirit is infinitely more advanced in *one* important particular, viz. that now, ripened by his own experience, enlightened and humbled, he knows the way through suffering to glory as the only one, and has fondly embraced it.

Can we not rightly say that the element of Peter's whole life was the Messianic glory, and that the subject in connection with which his inner development advanced, was above all the relation between suffering and glory? In his *first* stage, during the life of Jesus, it was absolutely impossible for him to conceive of glory as actually related to suffering, the two seemed to him to be utterly irreconcilable. "That be far from Thee!" he exclaimed to the Master, when the latter predicted His sufferings; and when he himself, the disciple, saw suffering before him, he denied and fled before the cross (Gospels).

In his *second* stage, after the crucifixion and ascension of Jesus, he came to think of both together, but still only externally:—it *is* so—it *shall* and *must*

be so, for the sufferings and death of the Lord were predicted and foreordained by God as the way that must be trodden. But he still looked upon the suffering and death of Christ as not being internally and essentially necessary to salvation; the inner power of suffering was still concealed from him, so long as he had not learnt the way of suffering by *his own* experience (Acts).

In his *third* stage, through the guidance of the Spirit into all truth, with the help of personal experiences in the apostolic office, in prison and in persecutions, as well as by intercourse with Paul and others, the way through suffering to glory is not only fully revealed to him as possible and actual, but is also endeared to him as the only necessary and blessed way lying at the basis of man's salvation, and to be trodden by every believer. And now Peter, with all his acquired knowledge and moral advancement, had reached the goal to which as an apostle he was destined to attain.¹

¹ The comparison of the Petrine doctrine in the first Epistle with the discourses in the Acts bears important testimony at the same time to the credibility of Luke as a narrator. The agreement of the first Epistle with the discourses in peculiarity of feature, as well as the difference between them, in so far as the latter represents a further development in one and the same direction, testifies to the fidelity of the historian in reproducing his thoughts, although to some extent freely choosing his words. Weiss appears to us to have misconceived the doctrine of the discourses and of the first Epistle, because he shows a tendency on the one hand to find in the Petrine discourses of the Acts a more fully developed doctrine than we can allow, and on the other hand to reduce the conceptions of the Epistle to a lower moral level, in order to bring both nearer together and to prevent a later, more highly developed Pauline form of Christian knowledge being assigned to the Epistle. We consider such anxiety to have as little foundation as the attacks upon the authenticity of the Epistle, based upon its alleged Pauline character.

FIFTH SECTION.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE APOSTLE JOHN.

For the doctrinal system, apprehension of Christianity and mind of the Apostle John, we have at our command two different sources; on the one hand the *Apocalypse*, on the other hand the *Fourth Gospel together with the Epistles*. The fact of our using both sources conjointly brings us into conflict with two groups of theological critics, who, though setting out from different standpoints, nevertheless agree in separating the *Apocalypse* from the *Gospel and Epistles*. Some ascribe the *Gospel and the Epistles* to the Apostle John, but deny his authorship of the *Apocalypse*; others inversely acknowledge the *Apocalypse* to be a work of the Apostle John, but deny with the greatest confidence that he is the author of the *Gospel and Epistles*. We characterize the former

What positive original documents and proofs have we that Peter could not have taught as the first Epistle makes him do? Besides Peter's discourses in the Acts, which do not really justify such a conclusion, we possess no support for it at all, unless it be in certain expressions of the Apostle Paul regarding which we have already shown that they are by no means favourable to the denial of its authenticity. One can therefore argue merely from a preconceived idea respecting Peter's mind and way of thinking, drawn from some other source, *i.e.* from an *à priori* supposition. We cannot till later make a comparison of the Petrine with the Pauline system of doctrine, but must here express our conviction that critics have no right to deny an inner capacity of development to the Apostle Peter, and to assert that in consequence of his character or apostolic dignity and independence, he could not have made progress in the preaching of the gospel, and that he could have allowed no other, even the Apostle of the Gentiles, to have had any influence upon his mode of thought and standpoint.

group as *the school of Schleiermacher*, because not only has the master himself adopted this view (*Einleitung ins N. T.*, pp. 317, 449, etc., 446, etc., 470, etc.), but also because those theologians whose searching inquiries have led them to a similar result may be reckoned among his followers (*e.g.* Bleek, *Theol. Zeitschrift von Schleiermacher, de Wette, und Lücke*, 1820, p. 253, etc.; *Beiträge zur Evangelienkritik*, 1846, p. 182, etc.; Lücke, *Versuch einer vollständ. Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 2nd ed., 1848–1852; Neander, *Pflanzung und Leitung*, ii. p. 628, 4th ed.). This view prevailed pretty much twenty or thirty years ago. But in the following decade things took another turn: the opposite view, viz. that the Apocalypse was a genuine Johannine production, and the Fourth Gospel with the Epistles pseudo-Johannine, finding in the school of Baur a number of advocates and defenders so successful in their efforts that the above twofold position of criticism became an axiom of the school (Zeller, *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1842, p. 654, etc.; Schnitzer, *ibid.* 1842, pp. 458, etc., 627, etc.; Baur, *ante*, 1844, pp. 659, etc.; *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1853, pp. 131, 150, etc., 2nd ed. p. 167; Köstlin, *Lehrbegriff des Ev. Joh.* 1843, p. 3; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, ii. p. 249, etc.). Notwithstanding the strong opposition between these two groups of critics, they agree in the conclusion set forth by de Wette (*Einleitung ins N. T.*, 3rd ed. p. 367) as an axiom: "In New Testament criticism nothing is so firmly established as that the Apostle John, if he be the author of the Gospel and the Epistles, did not write the Apocalypse; or if the latter be his work, that he cannot be the author of

the other writings." But there is the less need of bowing down to this dictum, as many of the so-called irrevocable results of criticism have already been departed from, occasionally by their authors themselves. The last step, from half-denial to whole, was taken by Lützelberger, in denying the genuineness of all the Johannine writings (*Die Kirchliche Tradition ueber den Apostel Johannes und seine Schriften*, 1840). We abide firmly by unity of authorship, and recognise both writings as apostolic and Johannine. In this matter we have such scholars as Gieseler (*Kirchengeschichte*, 4th ed. i. 1. 127, note), Guericke (*Einl. in das N. T.*), Hengstenberg, Hase, and others on our side, men of very different theological tendencies. The same conclusion is reached on the basis of a searching examination by A. Niermeyer, *Over de echtheid der Johanneische Schriften*, 1852; W. Milligan in *Contemporary Review*, 1871, August and September: "The Gospel of St. John and the Apocalypse;" Hermann Gebhardt, *Der Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse und sein Verhältniss zum Lehrbegriff des Ev. und der Epp. des Johannes*, 1873, especially 326, etc. The final words of Gebhardt in p. 431, etc., contain in a compressed form the essence of his comparison between the Apocalypse and Gospel, with many appropriate and intelligent remarks. But scientific impartiality and thoroughness require that the Apocalypse and Gospel with the Epistles should not only not be employed without distinction, but that each should be fundamentally examined by itself.

If the *Apocalypse* be first considered, we must allow the assertion of Baur's school to be well founded, viz. that external testimony in favour of

the apostolic and Johannine origin of the book is stronger and more continuous than it is for other New Testament writings, so that nothing but bias and uncritical haste could lead one to sacrifice its authenticity to that of the Gospel.

The *object* of the work is to strengthen believers under their cross, amidst the temptations and dangers to which they are exposed in the struggle of the enemies of God and Christ against Christ and His Church; to encourage them to patience and stedfastness (*ὑπομονή*, ii. 19, xiii. 10, xiv. 12), and to unshaken fidelity and courageous joy in their confession of Jesus (*μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ*). As a means to this end, they are assured of the continual presence and dominion of Christ, of His final victory on earth, and future coming to judge the powers that are hostile, and to reward fidelity. Lastly, a picture is drawn of the blessed rest and holy consummation of those who do not live to see the peaceful time, but have previously fallen as true confessors amid strife and distress. The excellent artistic form in which the whole is depicted, presupposing a revelation actually received, we leave here untouched.¹ As to the question which has been discussed in many ways, and answered so differently, respecting the historical circumstances and time to which the individual prophecies and images refer, we offer the following brief remarks, in agreement with Auberlen, *Daniel und Offenbarung Johannis*, 1854, p. 362, etc. The conception of the whole embraces three principal groups, which are again subdivided, with

¹ Comp. Godet, *Bibelstudien*, translated into German by Kägi, 1878, ii. p. 212, etc., on the fact that divine prophecy and a too highly elaborated artistic form are not incompatible.

mutual ramifications that to some extent pass into one another. The first leading form of conception is the world-historical ("church-historical," Auberlen), which strictly carried out looks upon the Apocalypse as a prophetic summary of all the world's history since the time of Christ, so that we are able to perceive in it the individual periods and points of time even chronologically. The most noted interpreter of this tendency is Bengel. The second leading form of interpretation is the time-historical, *i.e.* the interpretation which finds the subjects of the book wholly and exclusively in the time of its composition. This mode of interpretation has given rise to three different views; some finding all that is combated as hostile to Christ and His kingdom, either exclusively in Judaism (Abauzit, Herder, Hartwig, and later Züllig, 1834, 1840), or exclusively in heathenism and the world-monarchy of heathen Rome (Semler, Ewald), or both together, so that the first half of the book describes Jerusalem and Judaism as hostile to Christ, while the second attacks world-ruling Rome and its imperialism, especially Nero as Antichrist (Grotius, Eichhorn, Lücke). A third leading mode of interpretation, which may be called the SALVATION-HISTORICAL, finds in the Apocalypse not so much an individual history of the future as a prophecy of the great development of God's kingdom, so that the salvation of souls and the consummation of God's kingdom form the leading point of view throughout (Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, and *Schriftbeweis*; Auberlen). Hengstenberg's exposition may be regarded as a transition of the imperial-historical into the world-historical; while Thiersch, *Kirche im apost. Zeitalter*,

p. 230, etc., has made a noteworthy attempt to combine the salvation-historical and time-historical interpretations, recognising the Nero legend itself as the point of time to which the prophecy is attached; the future Antichrist having a sort of forerunner in this godless tyrant.

The ideas of the book are clothed throughout in Old Testament forms and images, as we see at a glance; but it does not follow that the standpoint too is Jewish rather than Christian. This will appear immediately when we enter upon an examination of the doctrines themselves.

In the doctrine of God, partly by way of opposition to heathenism with its presumptive gods, prominence is given to the truth that God is living and eternal (vii. 2, iv. 9, i. 4), *παντοκράτωρ*, the all-powerful Creator (iv. 11, x. 6, xviii. 8), while partly in allusion to the judgment depicted in the book it is emphatically asserted that He is holy, just, and true (vi. 10, xv. 4, xvi. 5). The *love* of God is also made prominent, not only in the greeting, i. 4: *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος*, etc., but also in the reiterated promise: "God shall wipe away all tears" (vii. 17, xxi. 4), as well as in the words: *αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι υἱός*, xxi. 7, where God is depicted as a Father.

The utterances to be found respecting *Christ*, His person and His work, are well worthy of notice. With reference to His *person* we find the union of the human with the divine clearly indicated. He is the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David (v. 5, xxii. 16), and therefore of human descent, of the lineage and race of Israel to whom the Messianic promise was given. But He is also the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning

and the end, the holy and true (i. 17, ii. 8, xxii. 13, iii. 7), used in this book as a predicate of Jehovah, the Eternal, and at the same time denoting absolute, divine essence (i. 8, xxi. 6). Again, Christ calls Himself: ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, iii. 14, etc. But since κτίσις can only mean creation as an act, or the creature, while on the other hand the connection of θεοῦ with κτίσις forbids us to attribute to ἀρχή the meaning of "author, founder," the only remaining alternative is to conclude that it denotes "the beginning of the creation of God." If we compare this with the apocalyptic formula, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, we find that it cannot be limited to the first or highest creature, or to Him "in whose presence the God-created world begins" (Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 1st ed. p. 144; Baur, *N. T. Theol.* p. 217, etc.; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 153), so that Christ would be placed in the rank of creatures, though as *primus inter pares*; but priority in time at least is attributed to Him, consequently pre-existence and precedence of rank before all creatures. He is set forth as a being above the sphere of the created, as the primeval principle of creation; and this is not opposed to the sole, sovereign creating power of God, but is rather directly confirmed by θεοῦ; comp. Gebhardt, *Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, p. 96. Moreover, the name ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ (xix. 13) is attributed to Christ where He appears as Judge in His glory with the heavenly hosts, according to which He is Himself the Word, the personal Possessor of divine wisdom and might, the Mediator of all divine self-revelation.¹

¹ Lücke's discussion respecting the Christology of the Apocalypse, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung*, 2nd ed. p. 734, etc., is

The *work* of Jesus Christ proceeds from His love to us (i. 5), as He is, in the first place, the faithful and true *witness* (iii. 14, i. 5), *i.e.* the absolutely faithful messenger of the divine will and the divine truth, and also sends His angel from heaven to give testimony (xxii. 16; comp. ver. 20). Again, the Apocalypse is fond of setting forth Jesus the crucified one under the figure of the lamb that was slain (v. 6, xiii. 8, vii. 14, xii. 11; comp. i. 5, vii. 18); a figure primarily derived from the Passover lamb, whilst at the same time the passage Isa. liii. and the ritual of the atoning sacrifice appear uppermost in the mind of the writer. He thus implies that Jesus' death on the cross was of an atoning and sacrificial character. Hence a sin-redeeming (v. 9, xiv. 3) and cleansing power (i. 5, vii. 14) is attributed to His blood. The entire work of redemption is a victorious combat (iii. 21, v. 5). But now that Jesus has conquered, has risen and been exalted, He is also *a King* of kings, seated with the Father on His throne, has power, honour, and glory, holding even the keys of Hades and death (i. 18, iii. 21, v. 9, 12,

superficial, and scarcely worthy of the otherwise excellent work; Baur's endeavours to deprive the predicates of Christ in this book of a metaphysical significance (*Christenthum*, 1st ed. p. 290, etc., 2nd ed. p. 315, etc.; *N. T. Theol.* p. 215, etc.) is less convincing. Niemeyer, *Over de echtheid der Joh. Schriften*, Haag 1852, p. 169, etc., is more searching. Reuss, *Hist. de la théol. chr.* i. 346, justly admits: "On doit reconnaître, sans hésiter, que Christ, dans l'Apocalypse, est élevé au niveau de Dieu." Compare the excellent remark of Beyschlag, *Christologie des N. T.* 1866, p. 133. The expressions $\delta \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ and $\eta \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta \tau\eta\varsigma \kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\omega\varsigma$ are mutually explanatory. It is evident that $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta \tau\eta\varsigma \kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\omega\varsigma$ may mean a world-creating Word of God, not a merely world-judging Word, in whatever way $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$ be taken; a merely *world-judging* Word might indeed be a $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, but in no sense an $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$. Gebhardt, *Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, 1873, p. 98, etc.

xix. 16). As Lord he has also "the key of David;" walks amidst the golden candlesticks, *i.e.* the Churches, and with eyes like flames of fire pierces the souls and conditions of the Churches (ii. 1, 18, iii. 7, v. 6), having the seven spirits of God, *viz.* *the one* Spirit of God in the fulness of His nature, in His different revelations, *i.e.* He walks as the omniscient, present and mighty Head of His Church, holds His own people fast (i. 16), chastens those whom He loves (iii. 19), stands at the door and goes in unto them (iii. 20).

The Church consists of souls that have been pardoned, that were originally sin-stained, miserable, and dead (i. 5, iii. 1, 17), but are now called, chosen and faithful (xvii. 14). They are gathered from every kindred and tongue and race of humanity (v. 9, vii. 9). The universalism of Christianity is here so clearly attested, that there is no ground for reproaching the author with Jewish narrowness; this is so fully recognised even by Lücke, that he effectually defends the Apocalypse against all such accusations, *ante*, p. 736, etc.; comp. Bleek, *Beiträge zur evang. Kritik*, p. 184, etc.; Niermeyer, *ante*, p. 84, etc. The Apocalypse definitely acknowledges that the gospel is destined for humanity, but expresses this idea in such a way as to make the nation of God, from its Old Testament foundation, receive all races of humanity into its communion through the word of God (iii. 3, xiv. 6, etc.) accepted by them. They have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb (vii. 14), *viz.* through Christ's death they have become personal partakers of reconciliation with God, having appropriated to themselves this reconciliation. But lest

they should come short of salvation, they must keep themselves holy (xxii. 11; comp. xi. 18), must cease to participate in the sins of the world (xiv. 4, xviii. 4); in fear of God and obedience to Him (xi. 18, xii. 17, xix. 5) keeping true to the faith and confession of Jesus, even unto death (ii. 2, 3, xix. 10), that they may overcome (ii. 7, xxi. 7). These believers have great honour; they are kings and priests (i. 5, v. 10), but brethren among themselves (xix. 10).

Against the Church of Christ comes forth Satan in hostile attitude, attacking in every way, misleading the world, and estranging believers (ii. 9, xii. 9, etc., xx. 2, 9). After being thrust out of heaven and hurled down to the earth (xii. 13, etc.), he pursues the Church of Christ on earth, especially by means of the two powers which are represented partly under the form of a fearful beast out of the sea uniting in himself "great power and much cunning," partly under the form of a beast coming up out of the earth, a false prophet (xiii. 1, etc.). Hence the former beast appears still in connection with the godless metropolis, persecutes the saints even unto death, and purposes to destroy Christ's kingdom. Those men who do not serve the true God and Christ are deceived so as to worship the beast and his image, and by that means serve the devil who has given his power to the beast (xiii. 4, xiv. 9, 11, xvi. 2); and sink into all manner of sin and vice (ix. 21, xiv. 8, xvii. 2, etc., xviii. 3, 6, etc., xxi. 8).

This fearful struggle, demanding many sacrifices, ends in a glorious victory at *the return of Christ*, who shall appear from heaven visibly, so that all eyes see Him (i. 7, xix. 11) in great glory, accompanied by

an army of the saints (xix. 14, 19; comp. xvii. 14). Such is the sacred, fundamental truth that runs through the whole book. John says: "Behold, He comes with clouds," etc. (i. 7); Christ commands to write to the Churches: "I come" (ii. 5, 16, iii. 3, 11); John sees in vision how Christ comes down (xix. 11, etc.). The voice resounds in different passages: "Behold, I come quickly" (xvi. 15, xxii. 7, 12, 20). The spirit answers out of the hearts of believers: "Come, Lord Jesus" (xxii. 17, 20). It is an unquestionable fact that the coming of Christ is described as a visible thing in connection with phenomena and shakings of the visible world; comp. Lücke, *ante*, p. 719, etc. The returning Christ will *first of all* make vigorous war upon the enemies of Himself and His kingdom that gather themselves against Him in a host, and will victoriously overcome them. As Babylon the harlot (*i.e.* the God-forsaken metropolis, xvii. 1, 18; see Hofmann, ii. 2. 640, etc.) had been judged and destroyed before (chap. xviii.), so He Himself at His appearing will execute merited judgment not only upon them that have been deceived (xix. 21; comp. xiii. 15, 17), but will also overthrow the two deceivers, and cast them alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone, *viz.* the beast (the world-power at enmity with God, the whole kingdom of the world as opposed to the kingdom of God; see Auberlen, *Daniel und Offenbarung Johannis*, 1854, p. 267, etc.) and the false prophet (wisdom and intellect at enmity with God). Immediately after this the author and prince of all evil (Satan) is cast down into the bottomless pit, where he is confined and bound during a thousand years, so that he has no more concern in deceiving

the nations during this period (xx. 1-3). *Secondly*, the believing and faithful enjoy the fruits of their Lord's return, especially those who live till that time, who shall henceforward sit upon thrones and judge for a thousand years,¹ as also those who had been slain for the witness of Jesus, martyrs and confessors raised from death in the first resurrection (xx. 5).² These now live in undisturbed peace, in priestly service of God and Christ, clothed with kingly glory (xx. 6).

The millennial kingdom is not yet the consummation itself. After the thousand years are expired, a final contest breaks forth, Satan being loose again, stirring up an assault of heathen nations against the saints and the city of God (xx. 7-9). But fire from heaven consumes these enemies, and Satan is now cast into the lake of fire to be tormented everlastingly, where the beast and the false prophet are already (vv. 9, 10).

¹ In the description contained in chap. xx., the *θρόνοι* and *βασιλείαι* mentioned in ver. 4 and again in ver. 6, are manifestly the chief thought; the *κρίμα ἰδόνη* follows, and, like Dan. vii. 20, brings to view a princely trait. *Κρίμα ἰδόνη αὐτοῖς* does not describe a judicial act, as Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 557, note 1, asserts, for the assumption that it refers to those summoned to judgment is a mere guess; while the apocalyptic writer in another place (comp. xx. 11, etc.) describes an act of judgment—the last judgment—with unequivocal clearness. We agree, therefore, with Gebhardt, *Apokal.* p. 292, who finds in *κρίμα ἰδόνη* the usual expression for the beginning of the dominion.

² That this *first resurrection* is meant to be understood in a literal sense appears from the antithesis, ver. 5, according to which the rest of the dead do not live again till the thousand years are past. We must do complete violence to the words if, with Hengstenberg, we take the "first resurrection" figuratively (*Die Offenbarung des h. Joh.* ii. 1. 357, etc.), and understand it as referring to the first stage of happiness and rest in the invisible world. Not to mention

Now comes in the end of the world with the universal judgment and the resurrection of all the dead (xx. 11, 15). Heaven and earth pass away, a new world comes in their place (xxi. 1, 4, etc. ; comp. xx. 11), the new Jerusalem comes down from God (xxi. 2, 9, etc.), God Himself dwells with men (xxi., xxii. 3, etc.). The city needs neither sun nor moon, for the glory of God and of the Lamb lightens it (xxi. 23, comp. ver. 11, xxii. 5). Neither has the city any temple, for God Almighty, with His holy presence, and the Lamb are the temple of it (xxi. 22). Absolute holiness and blessedness (xxi. 4, 8, 27, xx. 1, etc.), priestly service of God and the Lamb on the part of God's children (xxii. 3, etc., xxi. 7), and their everlasting, kingly reign (xxii. 5), pervade the city. Its gates bear the names of the twelve tribes of Israel ; and the foundation-stones of its walls, the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb (xxi. 12, 14). The nations inhabiting the new earth walk in the light of

other considerations, it is inexplicable in that case why this resurrection (ver. 5) does not begin till the very commencement of the thousand years. Nothing but prepossession can prevent our seeing here that *ἔζησαν* has the same meaning as in ii. 8 : *ὁς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν*, i. e. *in vitam redierunt* (Bengel). Consider the contrast in *ψυχὰς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων—καὶ ἔζησαν*. The passage speaks of an awakening of the martyrs from corporeal death to the full enjoyment of reigning with Christ for a thousand years,—a state which is described in pure and noble colours, without the admixture of sensuous traits. This is the opinion of Lücke, *ante*, p. 730, etc. ; Hofmann, ii. 2. 652, etc. ; and others agree. But the allusion is not only to those who are awakened (Hofmann, p. 653), as is clearly shown by the distinction between *ἐκάθισαν—καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς* on the one hand, and *καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς—καὶ ἔζησαν*, etc., in ver. 4. On this point we agree with Hebart, *Die zweite sichtbare Zukunft Christi*, 1850, p. 165, although his work leaves much to be desired in respect to biblical completeness, exegetical research, and scientific elaboration.

this glorious city of God; kings of the earth do homage to it, and the leaves of the trees of life along the river of life which flows through its streets, serve for the healing of the nations (xxi. 24, etc., xxii. 1, 3).

The meaning of ἔθνη, xxi. 24, 26, xxii. 2, and of βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, is disputed, some referring the words to the heathen and men outside the Church (Hofmann, ii. 2. 660), others to Gentile Christians (Credner, *Einleit.* i. 74), others maintaining that "peoples" generally are meant by ἔθνη, who are then supposed to belong to the Church of the blessed. According to the first explanation, the statements about the ἔθνη must be put back into the last period of the world, *i.e.* into the time before the new heavens and earth were created (Hofmann, *ante*); but there is no trace of this in the words themselves; on the contrary, the distinction in question must be read between the lines and interpolated. The idea of Gentile Christians is also incorrect; at least the Old Testament colouring of the picture of the city of God gives no support to it; for the glorified Church of God is represented as the new, perfected Israel. There is therefore no other alternative than to take ἔθνη, with Hengstenberg, *ante*, ii. 2. 47; Lücke, *ante*, p. 738, etc., and others, as meaning "peoples," "nations," who are attached to the city of God and inhabit the new world round about the new Jerusalem.¹ Hence there is involved in the

¹ It follows from the parallel βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, xxi. 24, and again from the expression, xxi. 26: περιπατήσουσι διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς, and xxii. 2: τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν ἰθῶν, that in xxi. 24, 26, xxii. 2, ἔθνη cannot include the religious conception of heathenism in opposition to the people of God, as Weiss supposes (*ante*, p. 560, comp. note 5), but simply means, the nations who do not themselves fully belong to the city of God, but are so to speak its confederates.

statement no Judaistic limitation ; nor does the fact that the names of the twelve apostles are upon the twelve foundation-stones of the walls (xxi. 14) imply a direct exclusion and rejection of the Apostle Paul (against Baur, *Kanon. Evang.* pp. 348, 368 ; *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrh.*, 1st ed. p. 75, etc., 2nd ed. p. 81 ; *N. T. Theologie*, p. 214 ; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, i. 121, 157, etc., ii. 254). For if, in conformity with the whole tone of the book, the Church of Christ be set forth as the true Israel, consisting in its entirety of the twelve tribes of Israel, the completed city of God corresponding to the number twelve, it would be impossible for the seer to put in a thirteenth foundation-stone without the most hideous disturbance, even if he were the freest disciple of the Apostle Paul. Moreover, when the apostles are said to be twelve in number, we must not be petty in our reckoning, for Paul himself speaks of them on one occasion (1 Cor. xv. 5) as "the twelve," although at that time, speaking accurately, there were only eleven. Comp. Bleek, *Beiträge*, p. 184 ; Ritschl, *Entstehung*, 1st ed. p. 138, 2nd ed. p. 120, etc. ; Niermeyer, *ante*, p. 87, etc. ; Lücke, *ante*, p. 739 ; Reuss, *ante*, ii. p. 518, etc. Gebhardt's explanation of the passage, *Lehrbegriff der Apokal.* p. 314, etc., is neither clear nor convincing.¹

Passing to the *Gospel and Epistles of John*, we leave unnoticed the doubts advanced by Baur respecting the unity of their authorship, and appeal to the

¹ Kliefoth, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1874, iii. 315, correctly remarks, the text counts up neither the names of the apostles nor those of the tribes, and therefore cannot show *the way in which* they are counted. Hence it is vain to ask whether Paul is included in the reckoning, or who in this case is left out.

excellent refutation of them by W. Grimm ("Ueber den I. Brief Johannis und sein Verhältniss zum Evangelium," *Stud. und Krit.* 1849, p. 269, etc.) and Düsterdieck (*Die drei joh. Briefe*, 1852, i. p. lvii. etc.). We prefer to develop the doctrinal system of the Gospel and Epistles together, presupposing the genuineness of both, as already stated.¹

If we use the Gospel as well as the Epistles as a source of John's doctrine, the same mode of procedure cannot be objected to where the prologue and the many intermediate remarks in the course of the narrative, and at its close, are concerned. The case is different if we employ the discourses of Jesus also as a means to discover the apostle's doctrine. Is this not indirectly attacking and sacrificing the historical character of these discourses? We think not. It is our conviction that the discourses of Jesus are accu-

¹ The difficulty of this question, undoubtedly the most important in the sphere of introduction to the New Testament, is well known. A testimony to the fact that the decided "moments" are almost equally balanced, is seen in the case of a critic like Strauss, who wavers in the different editions of his *Leben Jesu*, having first presupposed the spuriousness of the Gospel, and afterwards inclined to its genuineness. The attack upon its genuineness, on internal grounds, as conducted by Baur ("Composition und Charakter des Joh. Evang.," *Theol. Jahrb.* 1844, 1, 3, 4), does not rest on a secure foundation, notwithstanding his acknowledged acuteness, as has been pointed out by Bleek (*Beiträge zur Evangelien Kritik*, 1846), Hauff (*Stud. und Krit.* 1846, iii. p. 350, etc.), Luthardt (*Der johanneische Ursprung des vierten Evang.* 1874), and others. Among the external testimonies mustered by Zeller in a negative direction (*Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1845, iv. p. 579, etc.), two have been specially misconceived, viz. the important circumstance that Heracleon, Valentine's immediate disciple, wrote a commentary on John's Gospel; and Justin's quotations from John which have been elucidated by Semisch (*Denkwürdigkeiten des M. Justinus*, 1848, p. 155, etc.). An impartial estimate of these two testimonies suffices to refute the hypothesis of the composition of the Fourth Gospel in the middle of the second

rately rendered; but the assumption that their form and composition have come down to us *without any* addition on the part of the narrator, seems to be unhistorical and unnatural; for the essence and course of divine-human life, and of its divine-human transmission, condition a passing of the subjective into the objective, as well as of the objective into the subjective. Comp. the excellent ideas of Lutterbeck, *ante*, ii. p. 253, etc., and Bunsen's observations to the same effect, Hippolytus, i. 303; Luthardt, *Der joh. Ursprung des vierten Ev.* p. 178, etc.; Godet, *Comm. sur l'Ev. de St. Jean*, 2nd ed. part 1, p. 163, etc.; Weiss, *N. T. Theol.*, 4th ed. p. 596, etc. Accordingly, we derive the apostle's doctrine as well as that of Jesus, from the discourses of the latter as related by John.

John himself thus defines the aim of his Gospel:

century. We agree with a remark of Bleek (*Beiträge*, p. 91), to the effect that "it is incomparably more difficult to understand the phenomena presented by the Fourth Gospel in itself and in comparison with the Synoptics, as well as its history in the Church, on the supposition of the spuriousness of the work than on that of its genuineness." Since 1850 some very important testimonies for the Gospel of John have appeared in newly-discovered writings of antiquity, first in the conclusion of the Clementine Homilies discovered in Rome by Dressel, about which criticism had formerly decided that they could not possibly cite the Fourth Gospel. The conclusion discovered proves unmistakably that the author knew and used the Gospel of John. Next we find in extracts from the writings of the Gnostic Basilides, communicated in the so-called *Philosophumena Origenis* (in reality Hippolytus) *Refutatio haeresium*, a remarkably copious use of the Gospel of John. The representation of the Basilidian system, which we find in Hippolytus, is judged by experts, as Uhlhorn (*Das basilidianische System*, 1855) and Baur (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, p. 150, etc.), to be in a high degree original and well founded, which puts an important weight into the scale, especially in favour of Basilides' quotations from John (at latest 130 A.D.). Comp. P. Hofstede de Groot, *Basilides als erster Zeuge für N. T. Schriften, des Joh. Ev.*, German edition, Leipzig 1868, pp. 4, etc., 95, etc.

“ These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God ; and that believing ye might have life through His name ” (xx. 31). The expressed aim of the first Epistle is, that in fellowship with God the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ the joy of the readers might be full (i. 4 in conjunction with ver. 3). Comp. Erdmann, *primæ Joh. epist. argumentum*, etc. 1885, p. 58, etc., and Düsterdieck, *ante*, xvii. The similarity as well as the difference of these two positions, each indicating the central point of the writing in question, is obvious ; particularly the practical turn which the Epistle, by virtue of its admonitory purpose, gives to the same truth. Hence John’s fundamental view is this : *Jesus the Christ and Son of God, in whom is the life*. Christ the Son of God is the personal, the ζωή the material, fundamental conception of the Johannine doctrine ; πίστις is the medium by which Christ applies life to the soul. Thus the religious view is immediately directed to the unique majesty, divinity, and fulness of life in the person of Jesus Christ with peculiar intensity and power. But this view of Jesus presupposes a very definite conception of God and the world, whilst at the same time it puts into humanity a definite development and completeness as the effect and fruit of personal life in Christ. The leading parts of the Johannine system are thus indicated.¹

¹ Reuss has based his development of the Johannine doctrine in an able manner on the Gospel statement contained in iii. 16, *Hist. de la théol. chr.* ii. 336, etc., his only mistake being that he makes the doctrine of the Son and His work rest on dogmatic premisses. Following the words step by step, the classification is this, viz.—I. Dogmatic premisses : 1. Speculative portion, (a) ὁ θεός, (b) τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ; 2. Historic portion, (a) ἔδωκεν (incarnation), (b) εἰς τὸν κόσμον. II. Mystic doctrine : 1. ἵνα πιστεύοντες ; 2. ζῶν ἔχωμεν.

FIRST DOCTRINAL PART.

WHAT IS IMPLIED IN THE DOCTRINE OF JESUS CHRIST,
THE SON OF GOD ?

A. GOD.

Respecting God, John gives special prominence to the idea that He is *the one*, the only true God, in opposition to the gods so called (Gospel v. 44, xvii. 3; Epistle v. 20, etc.); for the circumstance that οὗτος, He who is ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος, does not refer to the Son Jesus Christ, but to the ὁ ἀληθινός occurring twice before, consequently to God the Father, makes it most probable that ἐν τῷ νίῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰ. Χρ. is only put in by way of adjunct. Of God as the true, *i.e.* of Him who is really God, John testifies that He is *invisible*; just as Jesus (Gospel iv. 24) tells the Samaritan woman πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, which, according to the context, is in the first place a denial of all supposed limitation of God to one fixed place, but at the same time emphasizes the spirituality of God positively and in a moral aspect. The apostle repeats: θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε (Gospel iv. 12); and again: θεὸν οὐδεὶς πώποτε τεθέαται (1 John iv. 12); the former in opposition to a full apprehension of God mediated by His only-begotten Son, the latter in opposition to the indwelling of God in those who love one another; thus, in the former, the apostle denies an immediate vision of God; and in the latter a sensuous vision of Him as distinguished from one that is morally conditioned. John affirms of God positively,

that He is light, life, love. God is light (1 John i. 5): *καὶ σκοτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία*; *i.e.* according to the application that immediately follows, God is holy: the proposition, however, is not to be limited to this meaning, but is rather to be understood as including perfection of existence, nature, and will; whose negative side a scholiast thus expresses: *οὔτε γὰρ ἄγνοια, οὔτε πλάνη, οὔτε ἁμαρτία, οὔτε θάνατος*. Comp. Düsterdieck's excellent discussion, *ante*, i. 71-78. The other statement, that God is life (*ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, 1 John v. 20; Gospel v. 26: *ὁ πατὴρ ἔχει ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ*), absolutely perfect, eternal life in Himself, origin and source of all material and spiritual life of the creature, is therefore allied to this. Finally, *God is love*, 1 John iv. 8: *ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν*, to interpret which in a merely moral sense, as the will to love (*plenus dilectione*, Grotius, etc.), is superficial; it is rather an expression of the fact that the nature of God is love (Luther: "Deus nihil est quam mera caritas"), *i.e.* He is the absolute *personality* whose nature and will consist in love; which is revealed in the communication of Himself, inasmuch as God pours light and life into His creatures, while the Father redeems the world by the Son in the Holy Spirit, John iii. 16. Again, Jesus states emphatically that the Father *ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται*, *i.e.* that the Sabbath-rest of God after the creation is a state of constant activity and work.¹ John lays stress on those moral attributes of God

¹ Godet makes an acute remark respecting this utterance of Jesus, *Comm.* 2nd ed. ii. p. 398, etc.; comp. i. 209: "Il ne s'agit pas, dans ce passage, de l'activité de Dieu dans le domaine de la nature, mais du travail du Père, dans la sphère de l'éducation morale et de la redemption du genre humain, travail qui a précisément commencé à la suite et sur le fondement du travail créateur."

which lend themselves to the practical aim before him at the time, *e.g.* that He is *true* (by way of antithesis to *ψεύστην ποιιοῦμεν αὐτόν*, 1 John i. 10), *faithful* and *just* (1 John i. 9); the former, inasmuch as He is true to His word and fulfils His promises; the latter, inasmuch as the forgiveness of sins, in the case of honest confession, is likewise an act of justice, “*veræ confessioni juste dimittit*” (Bede); God’s forgiveness of the repentant sinner is a *sum cuique*; the interchange of *δίκαιος* with “gracious, merciful,” which was at variance with all usage, has rightly disappeared; on the other hand, reference to the doctrine of satisfaction, connected with the identification of *δίκαιος* with the Pauline *δικαιῶν*, invests the word with a meaning that lies neither in itself nor in the context; comp. Lücke, *Comm.* 2nd ed. p. 142; Düsterdieck, i. p. 132, etc.; Huther, *Comm.* 2nd ed. p. 63, etc. Along with the omniscience of God we have, in 1 John iii. 20, the statement: *μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν*. By virtue of its connection with vv. 19 and 21, this cannot mean that God is greater in holy severity (Lücke, who has, however, felt the doubt himself), but must have a comforting sense. But if this consist in the fact that God *knows* all things better than our heart (Düsterdieck, ii. 1, p. 206, etc., and especially p. 229, etc.; Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* p. 652, with note 9), then *μείζων—ἡμῶν* and *γινώσκει πάντα* must coincide; a supposition only admissible in case no other thought were present in the former clause. Hence we prefer the interpretation, God is greater, possesses more power and authority to pardon (with Huther, *Comm.* 2nd ed. p. 176, etc.; Erdmann, *ante*, p. 127: “*fortior est, ut hostem devincere possit*”).

B. THE WORLD AND THE PRINCE OF THIS WORLD.

The *world* in all its parts was created by God (through the Logos, see below), Gospel i. 3, 10. These words prove that John may be fully acquitted of the charge of Gnostic dualism brought against him by Hilgenfeld. But the world in its existing state is at enmity with God, so that he who loves the world cannot love God. And by *κόσμος*, John usually understands the whole sphere of earthly creation (*e.g.* 1 John ii. 15-17) so far as it is estranged from God, and subject to the dominion of evil; τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ are the individual objects within the world's compass. In many passages (*e.g.* Gospel xvii. 25) the narrower conception of the evil world of humanity prevails; comp. the profound discussion of the conception *κόσμος* in Düsterdieck, *ante*, i. 247-261. God is light, the world darkness; God is life, in the world death reigns (1 John ii. 15, i. 5; comp. ii. 9; Gospel i. 5; 1 John iii. 14). Darkness is partly estrangement from the truth, lies and unbelief (Gospel xii. 35; 1 John i. 6, 8, ii. 22); partly estrangement from love; wrath, hatred, and bloodthirstiness (1 John ii. 9-11, iii. 14). Sin is in itself lawlessness (*ἀνομία*), estrangement from the holy will of God (1 John iii. 4); for to understand by the *νόμος* which is transgressed, the Mosaic law alone, would be contrary to the entire Johannine view; *νόμος* must be the sum-total of the divine commands (ii. 3, iii. 22, etc., v. 2, etc.), the greatest of which is love. Comp. Weiss, *Johanneischer Lehrbegriff*, 1862, p. 167. Sin is universal in humanity, for it belongs to the essence of the *σάρξ*, Gospel iii. 6: τὸ γεγεν-

νημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σὰρξ ἐστίν, καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος πνεῦμά ἐστίν. The connection of this clause with the whole discourse in which Jesus declares the necessity of regeneration, shows that σὰρξ is used to denote nature and life, not merely as a lower in opposition to a higher nature, but as at variance with the divine essence and will. The passage therefore teaches that mankind, by virtue of their birth and parentage, are tainted with moral corruption, comp. Jul. Müller, *von der Sünde*, ii. p. 174, etc., a view which Hofmann need not have opposed as he has done (*Schriftbeweis*, i. 452). John considers this state of ungodliness as actually inherent in humanity and universally present; and has described it in its separate aspects. Köstlin (*Joh. Lehrbegriff*, p. 117, etc.) maintains that John represents the opposition between God and the world as original, coinciding with the distinction between the earthly and the heavenly,—an inference drawn from the author's silence respecting the fall of Adam, and quite unauthorized. This conclusion is the less admissible, inasmuch as the above dualistic conception of evil is quite irreconcilable with the unmistakable Old Testament character of John's fundamental view (comp. Gospel viii. 44).

It is an essential element in the conception of the world's estrangement from God, that whoever commits sin is of the *devil*. This being, Satan, is the author of all evil: sins are his ἔργα, and those who do evil are his children, morally dependent on him as author of the evil within them (1 John iii. 8, 12: ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου εἶναι, τέκνα τοῦ διαβ., but never γεγεννησθαι ἐκ τ. δ.; comp. Diüsterdieck, *ante*, ii. 1, p. 126, etc.). The whole evil world lies in the wicked one, *i.e.* under

the power of the wicked one (1 John v. 19). That this passage does not refer to τὸ πονηρόν, but to ὁ πονηρός, is shown by its connection with v. 18: ὁ πονηρὸς οὐχ ἄπτεται αὐτοῦ, and by the usage of the whole Epistle, in which (ii. 14, iii. 12; comp. ver. 10) ὁ πονηρός is used in a personal sense = διάβολος, while τὸ πονηρόν never appears. This agrees with 1 John iv. 4: ὁ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; comp. with Gospel xii. 31: ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. Satan is the personal principle of evil, for he sins from the beginning (1 John iii. 8). This does not mean that the devil is originally and by nature an evil being; here we agree with Köstlin (*ante*, p. 127, etc.), and appeal to the parallel passage in the Gospel (viii. 44, etc.); for if the devil be "a murderer from the beginning," "the beginning" can only coincide with the creation of man and his fall (viz. with the first murder, comp. 1 John iii. 12, which is rendered improbable by the context; see *Stud. u. Krit.* 1854, p. 814, etc.), and not with the *existence* of the devil himself. John certainly does not speak of a fall of the devil, nor does he make any mention of the fall of the first men. On the contrary, he describes the nature and work of Satan as it is, making no statement as to the origin of his hostile disposition towards God, but rather taking it for granted on the basis of Old Testament revelation. In the Gospel passage Jesus makes a twofold statement respecting the devil; first, he is a murderer of men from the beginning; second, he is a liar and does not abide in the truth (ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἔστηκεν, has not his abode in the truth, truth is not the foundation of his being; comp. Hahn, *Neut. Theologie*, i. p. 313, etc.); when he speaks a lie, he speaks of his own, *i.e.*

in conformity with his innermost essential nature. And just as he *is* so does he *work*. His works (1 John iii. 8) are partly anger, hatred, and murder (1 John iii. 10, 12, 15), partly lying (Gospel viii. 44). These testimonies respecting the devil and his children have been misinterpreted and abused in many ways; in olden time by the Manichæans, who tried to support their distinctive dualism by the authority of the apostle, more recently by critics who thought they could establish the presence of a Gnostic tendency in the authors of the Fourth Gospel and Epistles (for they also disputed the unity of authorship).¹

That a Gnostic dualism between God and the devil as principles of good and evil alike eternal, and the opposition between the children of God and the

¹ That John in viii. 44, 1 John iii. 8, considers the devil as a being originally and radically evil, is maintained by Frommann, Hilgenfeld, Reuss (*ante*, ii. p. 380: "il est mauvais de sa nature, depuis le commencement de son existence"). We must allow that Hilgenfeld has put forth the boldest assertion, viz. that the author of the Fourth Gospel (chap. viii. 44) makes Jesus speak of the God of the Jews as "the father of the devil" in the words: ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὶ and ψεύστης ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ. This strange explanation, in which Credner led the way followed by Volkmar, would be admissible only if the more natural acceptance of τοῦ διαβόλου as a genitive of apposition to τοῦ πατρὸς yielded no good sense; not only is this not the case, but it even corresponds to the parallel passage, 1 John iii. 10 (τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ—τοῦ διαβόλου). Such an interpretation leads to the conclusion that the Jews are described as brethren of the devil. Moreover, in the passage in Irenæus, *Adv. Hæreses*, i. 30, § 5 (Stieren, i. p. 266), which has been appealed to by way of confirmation, it is not directly said that Jaldabaoth, the god of the Jews according to Gnostic teaching, is "the father of the devil," but only that the æon Nus, the serpent-like, was begotten by Jaldabaoth. Godet (*Comm.* 2nd ed. i. p. 221, etc.) has given an excellent refutation of Hilgenfeld's view which even Scholten decidedly rejected.

children of the devil as a "metaphysical dualist principle" (Hilgenfeld, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, pp. 490, etc., 512) are entirely foreign to John, is obvious from the following considerations to all who desire to see:—(1) from his doctrine of creation, see above, p. 184, vol. ii., according to which *all* that is, without a single exception, was created by God (through the Logos), Gospel i. 3; (2) from the doctrine and history of the Old Testament presupposed by him, which are unquestionably not dualist but strictly monotheistic; (3) from his teaching that *every* man without exception though born of the flesh, a child of the world, is delivered from the inherited state of sin and death by being born of God, and is transplanted into life (Gospel iii. 5, etc.; 1 John iii. 14). This is not by any means consistent with the vain imagination that part of mankind are originally children of God, part children of the devil. With John this antithesis has in general only a moral sense, conditioned by will and disposition, and must not be understood as having its essence in the nature. Comp. Düsterdieck, *ante*, i. 257, etc., ii. 1. 129, etc.; Lutterbeck, *neutest. Lehrbegriffe*, ii. 269, etc.; Weiss, *Johanneischer Lehrbegriff*, p. 128, etc. Finally, (4) the alleged dualism of nature is at variance with the truth that God *loves* the world notwithstanding its state of alienation and sin (Gospel iii. 16, etc.), and *so* loves it as to give His only-begotten Son that it may be saved. Accordingly, it must be His world in origin and essence. "*For this purpose* the Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil" (1 John iii. 8).

SECOND DOCTRINAL PART.

JESUS CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, IN WHOM IS LIFE.

A. JESUS CHRIST THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD.

1. *His Person.*

The empirical view of Jesus Christ in His entire divine-human personality (Gospel i. 14, 16: *ἐθεασάμεθα, ἐλάβομεν* ; 1 John i. 2, etc.), lies at the foundation of John's teaching with respect to His person. John sets forth the manifestation of Jesus Christ in the Gospel as well as the Epistle, in the latter by way of exhortation, in the former historically ; but the eye is always directed to the divine glory shining forth in the human life of Jesus : He is eternal life made manifest ; He is the Logos made flesh.

(a) The *Logos* in and by itself. We cannot assent to the view put forward by Hofmann, *ante*, i. pp. 101, etc., 144, etc., and subsequently with little deviation by Luthardt, *Joh. Ec.* 2nd ed. 1875, i. p. 275, that John i. 1 speaks only of Jesus Christ as an historical personage ; whether with the former, *λόγος* be taken as "the apostolic announcement, viz. its personal substance, Jesus the Christ," or with the latter as "the essential revelation in the history of salvation, Christ, the ultimate revelation of God." We have nothing to object to the latter interpretation so far as the language is concerned, but as to its substance we urge the following considerations against the attempt to detach the Logos-conception from all extra-Christian, and even from all other biblical usage. It is a

substantial error to suppose that the conception in its above sense can be intelligible of itself; the history of the prologue's interpretation is the strongest counter-proof. The whole discourse presupposes that the readers were already acquainted from some other source with the conception and its expression "the word;" which is probable, moreover, even in the circle of readers belonging to Asia Minor, for whom the Gospel was specially designed. But it is the apostle who first presents the truth in its purity and fulness, its genuineness and depth, to rectify the current ideas of his time. Though unable to separate John's conception of the Logos from all association with other forms of thought (which Bäumlein has discussed more fully and learnedly than any other of his time, in his *Versuch, die Bedeutung des johanneischen Logos aus den Religionssystemen des Orients zu entwickeln*, 1828), we believe it has its foundation mainly in the biblical idea of the creative word and of the revealing speech of God; while reference to the Alexandrian-Hellenist conception of the Logos as divine reason is not to be excluded. The evangelist appropriates ideas which he found in his own sphere, as well as the language in which they were clothed (comp. Schanz, *Comm.* i. 1844, p. 70). And it should never have been questioned, in face of the unmistakeable parallel between John i. 1-5 and Gen. i. 1, etc., that Gen. i. 3 in particular was in his mind. This very parallel is conclusive against the assertion that John had the historically-manifested God-man in view from the beginning. He certainly sets out with what he had seen and experienced (comp. 1 John i. 1, etc.), and refers to the pre-mundane deity of Christ; but in the prologue, as a

divine preliminary history of the Redeemer (see Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theol. Ausleg. der joh. Schriften*, 1843, i. 1, p. 1), he treats of the Logos *before* the incarnation and *in* the incarnation. Without doubt he takes "the word," *i.e.* the essential revelation-word, the sum-total of the divine ideas—(1) as *premundane* and *before time*, consequently as eternal (ver. 1: ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν, "cum primum fiebant, quæcunque esse cœperunt, erat"). The statement does not indeed go beyond the beginning of the world, but since it certifies that the word did not originate when the world began but already existed, the implication is that the Logos did not *become*, but *is* eternal. (2) The Logos is *God*, of one substance with the Father, which is already involved in the former statement, ver. 1: θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, where θεός must doubtless be taken as the predicate, meaning that the Logos is *true God*, not merely "Godlike, divine." It is therefore certain that the article is designedly absent, *i.e.* that the Logos θεός is always to be distinguished from ὁ θεός, so that this statement again involves the next. (3) The Logos is *personally distinguished* from the Father: ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν,—He was God with God, more accurately, toward God, so that His direction tended toward God, His look (comp. i. 18) was directed to God, His consociation was a communion with God. Thus the personal distinction between the Logos and God is stated as definitely as His unity of essence with God had been before. In short, *the personality* of the essential word is here attested (comp. Baumlein, *ante*, p. 77, etc.; Lutterbeck, ii. p. 262; Godet, *Comm.* 2nd ed. ii. 30: "il s'agit d'une relation active, de la communion sentie et personnelle"). While ver. 1 declares the relation of the Logos *to God*,

vv. 2-5 define His *relation to the world*. (4) The Logos is the *Mediator of creation*, ver. 2: πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο; the negative antithesis: χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν, purposely excludes eternity of matter as well as all other dualism. However strongly this may be expressed, we have yet no right to say that the Logos is "the absolute principle of existence" (Baur, *theol. Jahrb.* 1844, p. 11), or that "it is not the Father, but the Son who created the world" (Lutterbeck, *ante*, ii. p. 263); the *διά* in vv. 2, 10 must not be mistaken; the Logos is the *instrument* of the world's creation, not the original author of creation. (5) With respect to the world of humanity, the Logos is *the source of life and light*, of all grace and truth, and of sonship to God (vv. 4, etc., 9, 12, 14, 16, etc.); the last, however, only by virtue of His incarnation, which is already presupposed and indicated in vv. 4, 9, etc., but is not expressly stated until ver. 14.

(b) *The Logos made flesh*.—In becoming flesh, the Logos entered upon a new and essentially different state. Setting out with the heavenly existence of the Logos, John goes on to say, the Life which was with the Father *was manifested* (ἐφανερώθη), and we have seen, looked upon, handled and heard it (1 John i. 1, etc.); the Logos was made *flesh* and dwelt (ἐσκήνωσεν) among us, and we beheld His glory (Gospel i. 14). From the circumstance that John never says the Logos became *man*, but always σὰρξ (comp. 1 John iv. 2; 2 John 7), and that he lays peculiar stress on the shedding of the crucified One's blood (1 John v. 5, etc.), Köstlin (*ante*, p. 139, etc.), following Zeller, *Jahrbuch.* 1842, p. 74, etc., and Baur, *N. T. Theol.* p. 362, has arrived at the conclusion that the incarna-

tion in John's view appears solely as the assumption of a human *body*. But the passages that speak of the $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ of Jesus (Gospel x. 11, 15, 17; 1 John iii. 16) are against this conclusion,¹ since it is neither proved nor provable that the $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ is something purely animal (comp. on the contrary, Gospel xii. 27: $\acute{\eta}\ \psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha\iota$). Even the name $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ (Gospel v. 27, i. 52, and other passages) testifies in favour of the complete humanity of the Logos made flesh, just as in another respect it refers back to the history of the conception and birth of Jesus, with which John's Logos-conception is said to be in irreconcilable opposition, according to Baur's judgment (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1844, p. 24, etc.). The stress laid upon the $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\iota\varsigma$ is mainly explained by the polemic against a docetism that had already appeared, and denied the truly human element in Jesus (1 John iv. 2). In the first Epistle (ver. 1) special emphasis is laid upon the actual corporeity of the Redeemer—first, inasmuch as the direct testimony of the apostle and of his apostolic associates in office is prominently set forth because of their personal intercourse with Jesus; next, specific importance is attached to the real corporeity of Jesus in and by itself, as well as to His truly human existence and life, which could be directly apprehended by sight,

¹ K stlin roundly asserts, p. 13: "No trace is to be found in John of a human $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$," an assumption which he himself refutes in p. 14, etc., since he quotes passages such as x. 11, etc., xii. 27, in which Jesus speaks of His $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$. It certainly cannot be proved that the $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ was something purely animal, as he supposes. He himself frankly acknowledges that $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ in xii. 27, as well as in xiii. 21, etc., might be interchanged with $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\mu\alpha$, and that $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ denotes the highest spiritual principle of the individual, especially if supposed to be under the influence of strong emotion.

hearing, and handling; and this is done not merely by way of opposition to docetic ideas, but also by virtue of the biblical realism which considers corporeity as the end of the ways of God, as the completion and actual means of revelation (ἐφανερώθη). In agreement with this, John (Gospel i. 14) does not speak of the incarnation abstractly, but under the aspect of the σάρξ, *i.e.* the earthly sensuous nature in respect of which Christ was made like unto us and approached us so nearly.

The word ἐγένετο must here be taken in a strict sense, not merely as a coming and appearing in the form and garb of the σάρξ, but as an actual passing over on the part of the Logos (which is πνεῦμα) into the σάρξ (see Hahn, *N. T. Theol.* i. 196, etc.; Godet, ii. 74, etc.), so that by virtue of this real transmutation, the heavenly, the supramundane, the δόξα itself might be made perceptible to sense (ἐθεασάμεθα, comp. 1 John i. 1, 3: ἀκηκόαμεν, etc.). In connection with this John does not expressly assert the idea of the humiliation of Christ in His incarnation, but vividly sets forth His corporeity in different features of His historical life. Setting out with the human appearance of Jesus Christ, John designates Him as υἱὸς θεοῦ, a conception of relationship and communion with God which is described as absolutely unique and belonging to him exclusively by means of the adjective μονογενής (1 John iv. 15, v.; Gospel i. 14, 18). The Son of God, who existed from the beginning, is in the bosom of the Father, equal with God (1 John ii. 13, etc.; Gospel i. 18, v. 18); in His humanity He possesses divine δόξα and fulness of grace and truth. In Him is life (the source and fulness of life, corporeal as well as spiritual, moral

and eternal): He is the way, the truth and the life; He is even one with the Father (Gospel i. 14, 16, v. 26; 1 John v. 11, etc.; Gospel xiv. 6, x. 30).

2. *The Work of Jesus Christ.*

(a) The work of Jesus Christ dwelling among us *in the flesh* is thus summarized by John: "We have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world (*σωτήρα τοῦ κόσμου*, 1 John iv. 14; comp. Gospel iv. 42), to destroy the works of the devil," 1 John iii. 8, *i.e.* to efface all sin with its consequences.

α. He is the personal *truth* (xiv. 6); has declared the name of God, and is come into the world to bear witness to the truth (Gospel i. 18: *ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο*, *i.e.* He has declared and manifested the divine things which He has seen, xvii. 6, 26, xviii. 37; 1 John i. 5). As He was so should we be in this world; as He walked so should we also walk (1 John ii. 6, iv. 17). In the latter passage the apostle presents the whole walk of Jesus as it dwelt in his memory, setting it forth as a type of the holy Christian walk.

β. He is the *propitiation* for the sins of the whole world (1 John ii. 2, iv. 10). The most general expression is, He laid down His life *for us* (1 John iii. 16: *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἔθηκεν*, *i.e.* for our advantage, in reality in our stead); His shed blood has power to cleanse from sin (1 John v. 6, i. 7: *καὶ τὸ αἷμα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καθαρίζει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας*). The apostle here bears witness to the purifying effect of the blood of Jesus which was shed on the cross, declaring that the cause and power

of the purification, its efficacy, is not in us, nor in our conversion and moral walk in the light, nor yet in Christian fellowship, but is in fact in the "blood" of Jesus, *i.e.* in His bloody death on the cross, Jesus being the Son of God (τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ is appended as the reason), the God-man. This cleansing efficacy was not exerted once for all, but is represented as present and always continuing, by the use of the present καθαρίζει. But in what this cleansing essentially consists is a matter of dispute. Some take the καθαρίζειν as purification from *guilt*, viz. in the sense of forgiveness of sins and justification (Baumgarten-Crusius, Hofmann, ii. 1. 130); others understand it as deliverance from the *dominion* of sin in act and tendency (Lücke, Düsterdieck, Huther); while others again join the two meanings (de Wette). The argument drawn from ver. 9 in support of the second view is not valid, so far as it is based on the fact that καθαρίζειν ἀπὸ πάσης ἀδικίας is distinguished from ἀφιέναι τὰς ἁμαρτίας; because ver. 7 does not make this distinction, while the expression before us unites what is separated in ver. 9. We decide in favour of the union of both views, and take καθαρίζειν as a power which frees not only from guilt, but also from sinful desire and action; for the assertion that καθαρίζειν cannot mean the removal of guilt (Düsterdieck), seems to us, in face of biblical usage respecting the washing away of sin (Ps. li. 9; Ezek. xvi. 9; Apoc. i. 5), to be without foundation. But it is an unquestionable fact that the apostle declares the justifying and sanctifying efficacy of the blood of Jesus upon the individual to be conditioned by walking in the light, since it is only under this condition that mutual

fellowship can be maintained and enjoyed, and that the justifying and sanctifying efficacy of the blood can be experienced; comp. Gospel i. 29, where John the Baptist points to Jesus as "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." The most definite language is to be found in the passage 1 John iv. 10, comp. ii. 2: "The Father sent His Son to be the propitiation for sins," words that cannot denote an indirect removal of guilt and punishment effected by moral purification (as Köstlin supposes, *ante*, p. 181, etc.), because *περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου* are expressly used. We must therefore suppose a propitiatory sacrifice, efficacious for the entire world of sinners, directly adapted to remove the state of guilt and punishment; not overlooking the fact that the apostle both times calls Jesus personally the *ἰλασμός* (comp. Düsterdieck, i. 159, etc.; Weiss, *Joh. Lehrbegriff*, p. 159).

γ. Peculiarly Johannine is the conception of the work of Christ as a *judgment* so far as the appearance of Christ leads to a free self-decision on the part of individuals, and a progressive separation between those who are ready to receive the truth and those who have closed their hearts against it, and therefore to a judgment on those who hate and avoid the light that has appeared (Gospel iii. 19, etc., ix. 39, xii. 31). The judgment, however, takes the form of a decisive *conflict*, for the prince of this world (Satan) comes, and has nothing in me (xiv. 30); the prince of this world is judged and shall be cast out (xvi. 11, xii. 31); be of good cheer, I have overcome the world (xvi. 33).

(b) The work of Jesus *after His glorification*.—The Son of God returns to the glory which He had

from the beginning (xiv. 28, xvii. 5), and is there continually, assistant and mediator of His believing ones (*παράκλητος*, 1 John ii. 1), with whom He continues in actual, spiritual communion (xiv. 20, xvii. 21; 1 John i. 6). The *Spirit* whom Jesus sends from the Father (1 John v. 6, 8, iii. 24, iv. 13) is a substitute for Jesus Himself on behalf of believers (xiv.-xvi.). So far as He is imparted to believers He is called the anointing, the priestly consecration, as Jesus Himself is called the Messiah, the Anointed of God (1 John ii. 20, 27). He is the Spirit of truth (1 John iv. 6, v. 6; Gospel xiv. 17), in particular He makes known the future (xvi. 13), reproves and overcomes the world (xvi. 8, etc.). In the discourses of Jesus given in John the personality of the Spirit as distinct from Father and Son as well as from human personalities (xiv. 16, etc., 26, xv. 26) is prominently set forth, so that the Trinity in God clearly appears; but less clearly in the Epistle.

B. FELLOWSHIP WITH THE FATHER AND THE SON.

1. *Its Origin.*

The efficacy of the Redeemer and the fruit of His work is the new life of believers, which has its foundation in the *hearing* of the word, the testimony of Jesus (1 John ii. 7: *ὁ λόγος ὃν ἠκούσατε*; comp. ii. 24, i. 5, 2, iii. 11). Every one who hears the word of God and accepts it with a willing heart (Gospel iii. 32, etc.; comp. ver. 11, xii. 48), thus receiving Jesus Himself who draws near to him personally by that means (Gospel i. 11, etc., v. 43, xiii. 20; comp. xviii. 37), becomes a believer. This, however, is not solely an act of human volition, but in becoming a believer there

is essentially *a new birth*. No man can see the kingdom of God, no man can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be born from above, of water and spirit (Gospel iii. 3, 5-8, baptized with water and the spirit). Born of the spirit which bloweth where it listeth, man himself becomes spirit (Gospel iii. 6);¹ and he who believes that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God, has become a child of God (1 John v. 1, 4, iii. 1, etc., iv. 4, 6), and has been translated into fellowship with the Father and Son (1 John i. 3, v. 20).

2. *Condition and Development of this Fellowship.*

(a) The fellowship consists chiefly in *faith* in Jesus, the Son and Anointed of God (Gospel xx. 31, i. 12; 1 John v. 10, 13, iii. 23), that is, in willing attachment and surrender to the person of the incarnate Son of God as He has been revealed to us. By virtue of faith man is in God and God in him (ii. 24, iv. 16).

(b) Connected with faith is the *knowledge* of the true God and Him whom He has sent (Gospel xvii. 3; 1 John ii. 13, iii. 16, iv. 7, 16, v. 20), a knowledge by which the Holy Spirit ("the anointing") leads souls into all truth (Gospel xvi. 13; 1 John ii. 20, etc., 27). "True faith," according to John, "apprehends, experiences; true apprehension believes," Lücke, *Comm.* iii. 268.

(c) *Righteousness of life* (ποιεῖν τὴν δικαιοσύνην, 1 John ii. 29, iii. 7), or walking in the light (1 John i. 7), implies the fulfilment of the divine will and

¹ Godet, *Comm.* ii. 264, rightly observes: "Ce mot *esprit* comprend, dans le contexte, non seulement le nouveau principe de vie spirituelle, mais aussi l'âme et le corps spiritualisés."

the following of Jesus (1 John ii. 3-6, 17, iii. 22, v. 3). Hereby we show that we really know Him (1 John ii. 3, etc.). This is no difficult task to him who is born of God and remains actually united to Christ, the sinless One. He does not sin and cannot sin (1 John v. 3, iii. 6, 9). We must here observe that John represents this impossibility of sinning as consequent upon and conditioned by the divine life present in the regenerate man; by this means, as well as by the declaration of the sinfulness even of believers (1 John i. 8), all misapprehension of such ideal view is obviated; comp. Düsterdieck, ii. 1, p. 117, etc.; Weiss, *Joh. Lehrbegriff*, p. 176, etc. Careful watch over oneself is also necessary, and constant moral purification (1 John iii. 3, v. 18); in addition to honest, active, self-sacrificing brotherly love (1 John iii. 14, etc., 16, etc., 23, iv. 7-12, v. 1), and victory over the world (1 John v. 5).

Brotherly love toward those who are in like manner born of God leads to *fellowship of believers* with one another (1 John i. 7; comp. iii.; v. 1), of brethren (1 John iii. 13, 17; comp. ii. 19), in opposition to false teachers and seducers (1 John ii. 26, iii. 7, iv. 1). The apostle makes no distinction in the first Epistle between Jews and Gentiles, but he does so in the Gospel (i. 11), where by the use of *ἴδια* and *ἴδιοι* he characterizes the Jewish nation as peculiarly belonging to Christ (Lücke, Meyer, Godet); just as Jesus Himself (iv. 22) denies intelligent worship, a correct knowledge of God, to the Samaritans, but attributes it to Israel in the words: *ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν*. On the other hand, Jesus declares that He has also sheep outside the fold of Israel, which He must bring in, that there may be

one flock and *one* Shepherd (x. 16); words by which the Redeemer attests His claim to the Gentile world, as well as the future union of Gentile and Jewish Christians. This is in harmony with the fact that the evangelist (xi. 52) represents the union of the scattered children of God as the aim of the atoning death of Jesus, thus recognising the existence, even outside the world of Israel, of those who are His children in God's mind and decree.¹ John (i. 17) contrasts the law given by Moses with grace and truth in Jesus, as something inferior; and Jesus, speaking of the law to the Jews, calls it *your* law (viii. 17, vii. 19, x. 34, xv. 25). On the other hand, He declares (v. 39) that Moses testifies of Him, and that the old covenant points in its inner sense to the new, to Christ Himself; comp. my essay, "Das A. T. in den Reden Jesu," *Stud. u. Krit.* 1854, p. 846, etc.²

3. *Completion of Fellowship with the Father and the Son.*

The object of Christian faith, love, and hope is the *παρουσία Χριστοῦ*, his future manifestation in the *ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα* (Gospel vi. 39, etc., 44, xiv. 3, xvi. 22). That vi. 39, etc., 44: *ἵνα ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ*

¹ Godet, *Comm.* iii. p. 234, with reference to this justly remarks: "Jean n'oublie jamais qu'il écrit en vue de lecteurs grecs, et il ne néglige pas une occasion de leur assigner leur part dans l'accomplissement des promesses divines."

² The assertion of Baur (*Christent. der drei ersten Jahrh.*, 2nd ed. p. 171; *N. T. Theol.* p. 390, etc.) and of his school, that the Fourth Gospel has an anti-Jewish character, has been well cleared up by Godet. With respect to Jesus' expression, "*your* law," etc., he remarks: Jesus certainly might have said "*the* law," but He could not have said "*our* law," any more than "*our* Father;" comp. xx.

ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα, does not refer to the new life on this side the grave, to the spiritual resurrection (Baumgarten-Crusius), nor ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα to the last day of life (Reuss), but as a matter of fact to the day of judgment and to the resurrection of those who are corporeally dead, is unanimously held by recent expositors since the time of Lücke. It is not so with respect to the πάλιν ἔρχομαι καὶ παραλήμφομαι ὑμᾶς, xiv. 3, and the πάλιν ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς, xvi. 22; Lücke makes both these promises refer to the spiritual presence of Jesus with His disciples; while Meyer refers the latter at least to the Paraclete. But his arguments are not conclusive. On the contrary, we are persuaded that where the Johannine discourses of Jesus regarding the last things are concerned, the mind is warped by a preconceived opinion in favour of the purely ideal view and spiritual conception of John; and that any one who can free himself from this *à priori* judgment, which attributes a one-sided spiritualism to the apostle, will look at the passages in question with very different eyes. The words themselves, as well as the context, not only may, but must be understood of the impending return of Jesus, *i.e.* the Parousia, for the perfecting of His people and the whole Church, that He may take them home and impart to them a joy that shall not be taken away from them, a knowledge that shall supersede all asking (xvi. 22). What ver. 23 goes on to say respecting prayer and its answer, is a new section, 17, “*my* Father and *your* Father;” by virtue of His inner union with the spirit of the law he stood in quite a different relation to this institution from those on whom the law was externally imposed. Besides, the predicate “*your*” (viii. 17) made the thought still more striking, as if Jesus intended to say, “The law that you yourselves recognise, and which you try to use as a weapon against me.”

separated from the former clause by ἀμὴν ἀμ. λέγω, etc., and refers to the immediate future, thus proving nothing against our interpretation. The meaning of these passages has been rightly understood from early times, e.g. xiv. 3 has been explained by Euthymius as referring to the δευτέρα παρουσία and the resurrection. But later exegesis lost the true interpretation in consequence of a spiritualistic construction; and the true sense has not been recovered till recent times (see Hofmann, i. 166, etc., ii. 2. 435, etc.; Brückner - de Wette, 5th ed. 1863, p. 253; Weiss, *Joh. Lehrbegriff*, p. 181, etc.; *N. T. Theol.*, 4th ed. p. 679; Luthardt, *joh. Ev.*, 2nd ed. ii. 317, etc.). By this explanation, which in our conviction is the only correct one, opening up the right path, the πάλιν μικρὸν, καὶ ὄψεσθέ με, xvi. 19, obtains a startling sense, excellently agreeing with the synoptic discourses and the apostolic utterances respecting the impending return of the Lord; while, on the other hand, the true meaning of these Johannine promises of Jesus concerning His return in glory for the perfecting and even corporeal glorification of believers, after a short interval, coincides remarkably well with the strong emphasizing of the corporeity of Jesus the Son of man. When He appears, those who are in their graves will hear His voice and come forth; they that have done good, to the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, to the resurrection of judgment (Gospel v. 28, etc.). The correct interpretation of this passage is already more widely acknowledged. It is true that Baumgarten-Crusius still takes the verses figuratively; but Lücke and Meyer understand them as decidedly referring to bodily resurrection, so that in ver. 25 a spiritual resurrection is spoken of, but in

ver. 28, etc., a bodily one. Both, however, are apprehended together by Jesus; the bodily and the spiritual, the future and the present being united in *one* comprehensive and exhaustive view. What Jesus says in ver. 25: ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν, etc., means that the hour which has already begun (with the appearance of Jesus in whom is the life) continues until the communication of life is completed, till the spiritual awaking has found its end in the bodily, *i.e.* till the Parousia. (Meyer, Luthardt, 2nd ed. ii. 458, etc.; Godet, 2nd ed. ii. 424, etc., give the most convincing proof that ver. 28, etc., must necessarily be understood of the resurrection of the dead in a literal sense.) The resurrection of the body is here distinctly divided into a judicial, condemnatory (κρίσεως) resurrection, and a resurrection to life the essence of which is ζωή in the full sense of spiritual-corporeal, blessed *vita vitalis*. Meyer rightly observes that neither here nor in ver. 25, where the operation is spiritual, is a simultaneous awakening asserted, but that, on the contrary, the ὥρα may be prophetically extended to embrace many periods. Hence reference is made to a *definite* point of time, when the consummation begins; and the return of Christ, as in passages where John speaks of the ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα, must be conceived of as a visible one.¹

It is true the first Epistle makes no direct mention

¹ How convincingly clear, how incapable of misconstruction to every unprejudiced mind, is the statement of Jesus contained in ver. 28, etc., is shown by the experience of Scholten. In a treatise entitled *Jaarboeken voor wetensch. Theol.* vi. p. 415, and viii. 431, etc., he has proved exegetically that the utterance contained in John v. 28, etc., *must* be understood of a definite point of time in the future, and of a visible Parousia. But after adopting a different view with respect to John's Gospel, and having arrived at the conviction

of the resurrection, but it speaks of the ἐσχάτη ὥρα, ii. 18, the παρουσία αὐτοῦ, ii. 28, the judgment, ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως, iv. 17, contrasting the shame and the joy before the face of the returning Christ (ii. 28, iv. 17). The happiness of believers will then consist in likeness to Christ, a likeness which is the result of seeing Him as He is (1 John iii. 2; comp. the profound interpretation of Düsterdieck, ii. 1, pp. 56-82), and which doubtless comprehends likeness to the glorified resurrection-body of Christ and therefore implies resurrection itself. So also in the Gospel (xvii. 24; comp. xii. 26) future blessedness is made to consist in this, viz. that believers will be with Christ and see the glory which the Father has given Him; a joy which shall not be taken away from them (Gospel xvi. 22). How Köstlin (*ante*, pp. 232-239) can repeatedly assert that John knows no ἐλπίς, feeling the power and blessedness of the divine life too much to be able to designate hope in it as a peculiar disposition of the mind—we cannot understand, since even apart from 1 John iii. 3, where prominence is expressly given to ἐλπίς, the feeling of hope in that which has not yet appeared is put forward in many passages with sufficient emphasis. The view that up to the present time has been frequently taken, viz. that John's conception is purely spiritualistic, and does not go beyond the present life, has been expressed by none more

that the "pseudo-Johannine Gospel" only asserts an operation of Jesus on those living on this side the grave, he was bold enough to declare the two verses objectionable to him to be spurious, without the least foundation in external testimonies! (*Das Evang. nach Joh. übersetzt*, von H. Lang, 1867, p. 124, etc.) He would certainly have spared himself this rash conjecture if he had been able to overthrow his former exegetical result.

strongly than Reuss, who (*Hist. de la Théol.* ii. 459, etc., 499) asserts that the Johannine doctrinal system has no room for the usual eschatology; that there is no trace of the approaching end of the world or the Parousia; and that the doctrine of last things is altogether spiritualized, at least in the Gospel, while the Epistle approximates to the current view. The refutation of this is contained in what has already been said. In conclusion, we give our full assent to the proposition laid down in Lücke's *Versuch*, 2nd ed. p. 715: "Without the Christian doctrine of future perfection, the doctrine of love and faith contained in the Gospel is incomplete and unintelligible."

It is noteworthy that in the first Epistle John speaks of the last time as already begun, *ἔσχατη ὥρα ἐστίν* (ii. 18; comp. Gospel v. 25). He draws this conclusion from the circumstance that many antichrists, *ἀντίχριστοι* (*ψευδοπροφήται*, iv. 1), had already appeared; a fact which he places in close connection with the prediction contained in the general preaching of Christianity (*ἀκηκόατε, ἠκούσατε*, ii. 18, iv. 3) respecting the appearance of Antichrist before the second coming of Christ (*ὁ ἀντίχριστος*, ii. 18; comp. 2 John 7). Antichrist, in the singular, has been understood in a collective sense (*antichristus pro antichristianismo—et multitudine hominum Christo contraria*) by Bengel and some recent expositors, *e.g.* Huther, but has by most critics been interpreted as a concrete personality. The latter is the correct view, for the many antichrists are confessedly human personalities; wherefore the *one* Antichrist is also a human person (comp. Erdmann, *primæ Joh. ep. argum.* p. 94). But the *spirit* of the *one* Antichrist (iv. 3) is already in the

world, and is at work in the many antichrists. The appearance of the *one* personal Antichrist is in fact made known by the many antichrists (ii. 18; comp. Düsterdieck's thorough discussion, i. 308-332).

The *doctrinal system of the Gospel and Epistles* on the one hand and of the Apocalypse on the other present an agreement so remarkable, that even critics who think it necessary to separate them widely acknowledge that both are characterized by "the same intuitional method," the Gospel itself being a spiritualized apocalypse (Baur, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1844, p. 691; *Kanon. Evangelien*, p. 380; *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed. p. 147). Schwegler, *Nachapostol. Zeitalter*, ii. 346, states: "The Johannine Gospel is the last and ripest fruit, the glorification, so to speak, of that Jewish Christian series of developments at the head of which stands the Johannine Apocalypse" (comp. p. 374; Köstlin, *ante*, 498). The former rightly draws attention to the fact that in both writings the description centres in a great struggle of Christ with Satan the prince of this world. The parallel which Köstlin (*ante*, pp. 482-500) draws between the Apocalypse and the Johannine system of doctrine, although he has not been sufficiently on his guard against spiritualizing the Gospel and materializing the Apocalypse, still gives the impression that both writings are allied in character, and are pre-eminently one in doctrine.

We draw attention only to a few leading points.

First. The view taken of *Christ's person* is of the most exalted kind in both, being directed to the

divine glory of the incarnate Son of God, who Himself is called personally the Word of God (Gospel: ὁ λόγος; 1st Ep.: ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς; Apoc.: ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ). The Son has from the Father all that He Himself has, and imparts it to His own (Apoc. i. 1, ii. 26, iii. 21; Gospel v. 20, 22). Not only is a pre-historical, but also a premundane existence attributed to Christ in both works; He is conceived of as the essential and personal Word of God, spoken of and honoured even as God Himself (comp. John i. 1: θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, with the ascription of God's name, Alpha and Omega, etc.; Apoc. i. 8, 17, ii. 8, xxi. 6). This point is discussed by Niermeyer, *Echtheit der joh. Schriften*, pp. 169–177, noticed in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1856, p. 894, etc.; W. Milligan, *Contemporary Review*, 1871, August number; Herm. Gebhardt, *Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, 1873, p. 349, etc.

Second. Where *the work of Christ* is concerned, Gospel and Epistles agree with the Apocalypse in laying special emphasis on the *teaching activity* of Jesus, 1 John i. 5, ii. 25; Gospel i. 18, v. 31: μαρτυρία ἀληθῆς; Apoc. i. 5: ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός. Again, both represent *the death of Jesus* not only as an active proof of His love (Apoc. i. 5; 1 John iii. 16), but also as having a redeeming, reconciling, and purifying efficacy (1 John ii. 2; Apoc. i. 5, vii. 14, xii. 11). The difference consists solely in the *mode of presentation*, which is doctrinal in the Gospel and Epistles, while in the prophetic book it is figurative; comp. Hofmann, ii. 1. 332; Köstlin, *joh. Lehrbegriff*, p. 486. Moreover, the image of the lamb, under which Jesus the crucified One is repeatedly presented in the Apocalypse, an image which in fact dominates the Apocalypse, is the same under which John the

Baptist, the first time he saw Jesus, presented Him to his disciple, the future apostle (Gospel i. 29).¹ The Gospel of John has a number of images that are also peculiar to the Apocalypse, for example, the shepherd, the living water, etc.

Third. We have already remarked that the work of Christ and its continuance even to the end is described in both writings as a struggle of Christ with Satan, of light with darkness—as a struggle ending with the complete victory of Christ and His kingdom. Comp. Milligan, *ante*, September 1871.

Fourth. The relation of *Christianity* to *Judaism* and *heathenism* is quite different in the Johannine doctrinal writings and in the Apocalypse, according to the assumption of modern criticism. But even Lücke, who is by no means inclined to efface the distinction between the two, judges (*Versuch einer vollst. Einleit.* 2nd ed. p. 736) that there has been great exaggeration in this matter.² So much, indeed, is correct, that in the view of the evangelist the opposition of Judaism to Christianity is an historical fact which is past and gone (Baur, *Christenthum*, etc., 2nd ed. p. 156); but, on the other hand, he bears witness that Israel is the peculiar possession of Christ (*Ἰδιολ.* i. 11), that salvation is of the *Jews* (iv. 22). According to the evangelist, Jesus declares that Moses

¹ Godet, *Comm.* 2nd ed. ii. 151: "Il est remarquable que ce titre d'agneau sous lequel l'évangéliste apprit à connaître pour la première fois Jesus, soit celui par lequel le Sauveur est désigné de préférence dans l'Apocalypse."

² A. H. Blom goes to a most incredible extreme in this direction, "De Bestemming von de Apocalypse," *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1885, p. 184, etc. According to him, "the synagogue of Satan" (ii. 9), and even the pseudo-prophet "who was cast into the lake of fire" (xix. 20), is nothing else than Paulinism: and this was the standpoint of all the twelve, p. 200.

testifies of Him (v. 39), in proof of which he frequently adduces prophecies out of the Old Testament fulfilled in Jesus. Hence Israel in his estimation is the root of the Church of Christ, the old covenant the basis of the new. Where then does the Apocalypse differ when it regulates the number of the elect, the relations of the new Jerusalem, etc., according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel? If the evangelist makes Jesus declare that those bodily descendants of Abraham who are not His children in a moral sense, are children of the devil (viii. 39, etc.); the Apocalypse also boldly says of the Jews who are not such in reality, that they are a synagogue of Satan (ii. 9, iii. 9). It has been shown above that the Apocalypse, as well as the Gospel, opens wide the doors of the kingdom of God to the heathen world, to all humanity, and is as far as possible from opposing the Apostle Paul as alleged; consequently that it is not contrary to the Gospel. Comp. Niermeyer, *ante*, pp. 154–165, and our notice of the book in *Stud. v. Krit.* 1856, p. 888, etc.; Milligan, *ante*; Gebhardt, *ante*, p. 399, etc.

Fifth. The doctrine of last things in the two works can only be regarded as completely opposite, if it be assumed that the images of the Apocalypse, especially towards the end of the book, are altogether material and sensuous, and the words of the Gospel and Epistle, on the other hand, altogether ideal and spiritualistic; a method by which “extremes meet,” as is so often the case in this world. The last two chapters of the Revelation of John only require to be read with some sense of the language of imagery and poetry, especially as employed by the prophets, in order to be convinced

of the pure conceptions which form the basis of the description. The statement that there is no temple in the new Jerusalem is in perfect accord with the words addressed by Jesus to the Samaritan woman (Gospel iv. 21–24).¹ According to Lücke, *ante*, p. 718, the eschatology of the Apocalypse is “not so distinct from that of the Gospel and Epistles as absolutely to exclude it; they supplement one another, the former being the more developed, the latter having a more interior mould.” But in another place (p. 732) he declares the difference in the eschatology to be “radical and essential, which cannot possibly be adjusted in one and the same subject.” And yet, as Lücke himself admits (p. 721), the difference is only one of comparison, inasmuch as the *coming of Jesus in the spirit* is primary with the evangelist, while the apocalyptic writer is mainly occupied with the *external coming* of Christ. This distinction, which is confessedly of a merely relative character, and in which one part of the antithesis does not exclude the other, when closely examined, is itself found to consist solely in the *mode of presentation*, the Apocalypse clothing the idea in figure and symbol; the doctrinal writings, on the other hand, in the conceptions of the thinking mind. In what, then, does the impossibility of adjustment consist? Add to this that, rightly interpreted, the first Epistle, and even the Gospel, imply the visible return of Jesus; that in the Epistle Antichrist appears as a person, and the many antichrists as his forerunners; that not only a resurrection of the body is taught, but that even two resurrections are mentioned (Gospel v. 8, etc.) of

¹ Comp. Köstlin, “Zur Gesch. des Urchristenthums,” *Theol. Jahrb.* 1850, p. 279, etc.

an entirely different nature, nothing compelling us to suppose that they take place at one and the same moment; finally, that the joy which none can take away, the dwelling of God with His own, the vision of Christ as He is and the likeness to God conditioned thereby,—when we think that all these are features of the final consummation, we have a sufficient number of truths in which the doctrinal writings coincide with apocalyptic prophecy. But in order rightly to understand apocalyptic prophecy, our minds must be as open to its moral and spiritual meaning as to the real and corporeal aspect of the doctrinal writings,—a matter of no great difficulty if we keep the seven Epistles adequately in view, bearing in mind the practical theme of the Apocalypse, “Here is the patience and the faith of the saints!” (xiii. 10 and other passages); and try to estimate with some knowledge and appreciation of Old Testament prophecy the glorious descriptions of eternal life (vii. 15, xxi., etc.), and the forcible images of Antichrist and of the decisive struggle. On this assumption and by the help of such considerations, we may acknowledge, without reservation, the unity of spirit and doctrine in both kinds of writing, notwithstanding their different dress and object. Do we not find the very same character of fervent faith and fulness of spiritual power expressed in the blissful contemplation of the divine-human glory of Christ (in the Gospel), the earnest exhortation to true fellowship with the Father and the Son (in the Epistles), the prophetic looking for the coming of the Lord in His glory, expected with faith, patience, and longing (in the Apocalypse)? So that it is in fact difficult to determine whether the beautiful verses in the following poem on the

Apostle John are more applicable to the evangelist or the apocalyptic writer.¹ *Verbum Dei Deo natum*:—

“ Volat avis sine meta, Quo nec vates nec propheta evolavit altius.	Tam implenda quam impleta nunquam vidit tot secreta purus homo purius.”
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SIXTH SECTION.

THE DOCTRINAL SYSTEM OF THE APOSTLE PAUL COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE OTHER APOSTLES.

The doctrinal system of the Apostle Paul is the centre to which other systems must be referred. In order to arrive at an accurate determination of their common relation, we shall set out with Paul's own personal utterance respecting it. It is already noteworthy that he speaks of *his* gospel more than once with a certain emphasis, *e.g.* Rom. ii. 16 : κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χρ.; comp. xvi. 25 ; 2 Tim. ii. 8 : μνημόνευε Ἰησοῦν Χρ. ἐγγηγερμένον ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. Again, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν, 2 Cor. iv. 3 ; 2 Thess. ii. 14. Finally, 1 Cor. xv. 1, etc. : τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, etc. ; and in the most definite way in Gal. i. 11, comp. 7, etc., ii. 2, where he distinguishes his gospel that he had preached among the Gentiles from another. In the last passage Paul unmistakably sets his gospel over against that of the Galatian errorists, whose gospel was “another” (ἕτερον), but not actually another (ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο), *i.e.* not a genuine and

¹ Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, vol. ii. p. 166. Mone, *Lat. Hymnen des Mittelalters*, iii. 118.

real one. On the other hand, it is clear that Paul is far from separating his gospel from that of the other apostles, as if it deviated from them essentially. With regard to the other passages in which he speaks of *his* gospel, it cannot be mistaken that they refer to the judgment of the world and the resurrection of Jesus, David's descendant, consequently to the most general and fundamental truths of the Christian faith and apostolic preaching. Taking, therefore, their connection into account, it is impossible to think that by "my" Paul meant to separate the doctrine he taught from that of the other apostles. On the contrary, the reason of the adjective can only be in the desire emphatically to assert his own adherence to the doctrine of Christ on the one hand (comp. *ὁ θεός μου*, Rom. i. 8, and other passages), and to declare his opposition to certain errorists, especially of a Judaistic tendency, on the other hand.¹

If we bear in mind what Paul positively states in his Epistles respecting the elder apostles and his relation to them, we must observe, in the first instance, that in more than *one* place he clearly affirms his agreement with them. Already in the Epistle to the Galatians, i. 23, etc., he makes a statement, from which it follows that his preaching of the gospel was recognised as in harmony with the belief of the primitive Church. The Christian Churches in Judea "heard that he which persecuted us in times past now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed.

¹ Comp. van Hengel, *de betrekking van het gevoel tot het uitleggen van den Bybel*, 1853, p. 196, etc. We have given way to the powerful arguments brought forward by van Hengel against our former explanation of *ἐὐαγγ. μου* as implying differences between him and the other apostles (1st ed.).

And they glorified God in me." That is to say, they recognised him as a preacher of the (true) gospel. Hence it is plain that the apostle, if he attached any value to the witness of the Jewish Christian Churches of Palestine in favour of his work as a true "evangelist," a messenger of the faith, must have been conscious that he was preaching *the same* faith for which he had formerly persecuted the Christians.¹ In 1 Cor. xv. 1, etc., he speaks with far more directness. He appeals to the fact that from the beginning he had preached to the Corinthians that Christ died for our sins, and rose again, and was seen by many witnesses, last of all by himself. Then follow words expressive of his humility: "I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle; but by the grace of God I am what I am, and by the grace of God have laboured more abundantly than they all." He then continues (ver. 11): εἶτε οὖν ἐγὼ, εἶτε ἐκεῖνοι, οὕτω κηρύσσομεν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε. It is noteworthy here that Paul, after having made a distinction between himself and the rest of the apostles with regard to the success of their work, immediately proceeds to affirm their agreement in preaching the gospel. At the same time it is very probable, as Baur (*Paulus*, 1st ed. p. 282) aptly conjectures, that this statement has a polemic side-reference, and that Paul alludes to the distinction which his Corinthian opponents were so fond of making between him and the other apostles,—a probability which gives the more significance to the apostle's express declaration

¹ Ernst Würner († in Zurich) was the first expositor of the Galatian Epistle who recognised the range of the words in question, *Auslegung des Briefs an die Galater*, edited by W. Arnold, Basel 1882, p. 37, etc.

as to the union existing between him and the other apostles. We also find a certain resemblance to this passage in 1 Cor. iii. 22, where Paul speaks against such as separated themselves into factions, setting up a distinction, almost an opposition, between parties in the first instance, and indirectly between their representatives and heads. Hence he says: *εἴτε Παῦλος, εἴτε Ἀπολλῶς, εἴτε Κηφᾶς, πάντα ὑμῶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ*, the undoubted meaning of which is: you must not make yourselves dependent on men, allowing yourselves to be guided by them as leaders and heads, but rather let them serve *you*, that ye may belong only to Christ and be His property, as Christ belongs to God. Paul's object therefore is to give prominence to that freedom and independence on the part of man which has its foundation solely in dependence on Christ. But the words contain another thought, viz. these apostles and teachers are one in Christ; their names, which you employ as badges of separation, ought not to divide you from each other. Consequently he denies, at least indirectly, the existence of opposition between Peter and himself which was made by party spirit.

These utterances are irreconcilable with the assumption of a radical opposition between Paul and the other apostles, since Paul, who certainly was the best judge in the matter, bears witness to the harmony and union existing between himself and the others. It is true, we may be met with the assertion that, in 1 Cor. xv. 11, Paul treats solely of the essentials of Christianity, not of the particular doctrines founded on these, such as questions respecting the validity of the law or the universal character of Christianity. However this may be,

his repeated utterances respecting his essential agreement with the other apostles give us an important handle against the attempts of recent critics to point out a complete schism in primitive Christianity.

In order to a fuller examination of the subject, we shall separate and compare with the Pauline system of doctrine,—first, the teaching of the other apostles as orally delivered before the appearance of the Gentile apostle; second, the doctrinal systems of the other apostles impressed on their own writings.

FIRST LEADING DIVISION.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE PAULINE DOCTRINAL SYSTEM AND THE PREACHING OF THE OTHER APOSTLES IN THE EARLY APOSTOLIC TIME.

It *cannot* be denied nor *will* any one dispute, that complete harmony exists between the teaching of Paul on the one hand, and of Peter, James, and the remaining apostles on the other hand, if we base our opinion solely on the evidence afforded by the Acts of the Apostles. They all agree in teaching the death, resurrection, and exaltation of Christ as the main facts proclaimed, as well as the Messiahship of Jesus Christ, with salvation in Him and His future return to judgment. In attachment also to the Old Testament, in proving doctrines by the promises of the old covenant fulfilled in Christ and His work, Paul agrees with those that were apostles before him. In this respect the agreement will be found only too striking, though Peter in his speeches

in the Acts, chaps. i.-xv., gives utterance to the leading Pauline ideas as openly and clearly as these are veiled in the Pauline discourses in chaps. ix.-xxviii. (Schneckenburger, *Zweck der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 189; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeit.* ii. p. 105, etc.). We have already refuted this judgment in page 318, vol. i., with respect to the Pauline discourses. With regard to their mutual relation, we shall only make the following brief remarks: The Pauline discourses in the Acts, notwithstanding their essential agreement with the Petrine, surpass them in possessing a fuller and higher insight, and an apprehension of the truth in its doctrinal aspect. The case is similar with regard to the *person of Christ*, whom Peter never calls the Son of God but the servant of God; while Paul preaches Him as *υἰὸν θεοῦ*. In describing the *work of Jesus*, Peter enters far more fully into His life than Paul; but he lays the main stress on the *resurrection* of Jesus as the most important fact, and speaks of His death only as an event permitted and foreordained by God; while Paul regards His death as the positive foundation of salvation (xx. 28), attaching importance to His resurrection also, as an attestation of His dignity. With regard to salvation in Christ, the chief blessing of which is the forgiveness of sins, Paul and the other apostles agree in their teaching, according to the Acts; but it must be allowed that Paul alone puts forward the definite conception of justification by faith, which Peter and the other apostles do not. In the discourses in the Acts, James and Peter are as far as Paul from limiting salvation to Israel to the exclusion of the Gentiles; on the contrary, Peter positively declares that salvation was intended for the heathen

also, and that the Jews cannot be saved by the law, which is an intolerable burden, but by grace, and that only on condition that they are converted. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, alone bears witness (chaps. xiv., xvii.) to a natural knowledge of God on the part of the heathen, in consequence of His revelation in creation and conscience.

We must go a step farther, however, and compare the doctrinal system of Paul, taken from his own Epistles as the most direct source, with the standpoint of the other apostles in the time before they had composed their writings. According to the discovery of recent criticism, the other apostles are said originally to have held Ebionite, *i.e.* narrow, Judaizing views, and therefore to have stood in rude antagonism to the doctrine of Paul. The Pauline teaching rested on two fundamental conceptions—(1) the universality of the Messianic salvation; (2) the abrogation of the Mosaic law. With respect to the latter, it substituted justification by faith for the righteousness of the law; while on the basis of the former, it justified the reception of the heathen into the communion of believers, without previous circumcision. On the other hand, the rigid Judaizing Christianity of the primitive apostles, assuming the essential identity of Judaism and Christianity—(1) took the impress of Jewish particularism, and (2) upheld the permanent binding character of the Mosaic law, even in respect of ritual (comp. Schwegler, *ante*, i. 25, 152, 159, 171). But it cannot be directly proved that the apostles shared this view, though some have tried to establish the position indirectly, alleging that the existence of a Judaistic opposition which appealed to the primitive apostles against Paul (2 Cor. iii. 1), necessarily

leads to the conclusion that the primitive apostles themselves were of the same mind (Schwegler, i. 169, etc., 27, etc.; Baur, *Christenthum*, 2nd ed. p. 49).

Let us examine the matter in detail. The standpoint of the Judaizing Christians is said to be shown, in the first place, by their *particularism*. We remark at the outset that the statement of the Judaizing Christians being disposed to particularism is true or false, according to the way in which it is taken. It is false if understood, as it is frequently done, to mean that this class of believers wished to limit salvation in Christ to the Jewish people *exclusively*, all other peoples being shut out from the kingdom of God, from truth and salvation in Christ. This conception is absolutely erroneous and without foundation; needing but little reflection to see that such is the case.

We have still to turn our attention to the *Old Testament*. The original fundamental facts and promises of the old covenant, although actually referring to *one* man, *one* family, *one* people, or more correctly extending thus by degrees, have from the beginning a wide-embracing and absolutely universal aim, "In thy seed shall *all the families* of the earth be blessed." The particularism of the Old Testament, taken in its genuine and true form, has a universalist object from the beginning. How comprehensive, moreover, is the view, and how truly human the sentiment of the prophets! They give expression in so many passages to the divine idea, "When Israel, after being chastened for their disobedience and apostasy, shall repent and turn to God, and Jehovah shall graciously receive His people again, collecting those that are scattered abroad, and setting up the banner of salvation; then shall the

rest of the nations see this glory, and acknowledge that the true God is only here. Then shall they stream hither and go up to the mount of Jehovah. Then will light and knowledge go forth from Zion, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem; the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord and of His glory" (comp. Lutz, *Bibl. Dogm.* pp. 246, 238, 260; Herm. Schultz, *A. T. Theol.*, 1st ed. ii. 231, etc.; Fr. Ed. König, *Hauptprobleme der altisraëlitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig 1884, p. 95, etc.). Coming down to the time of the New Testament, we have in the Gospels themselves a passage in which Jesus speaks of the proselytizing zeal of the scribes and Pharisees, who compass sea and land to make proselytes, but in so perverted a way that the latter become even more the children of hell than the Pharisees themselves (Matt. xxiii. 15). From this it appears most clearly that even the strictest party of the Jews, those Pharisees from whom the narrowest Judaists in the Christian Church afterwards proceeded (Acts xv. 5), were far from thinking that truth and salvation, so far as they knew them, must remain confined to native Jews and could not benefit the heathen. Rather did they perceive it to be a duty and regard it as an honour to carry on a propaganda, to make proselytes of the heathen. When had even the most bigoted Jews ever refused incorporation among the people of God to a Gentile willing to be circumcised? It is not merely from the Acts, but also from Josephus, and even from Roman writers of that and a later time, *e.g.* Horace, Juvenal, Seneca, Dio Cassius, and Tacitus, that we know how many Gentiles attached themselves more or less closely to the Old Testament religion; how the Jewish propaganda

laboured with success in almost all places where there were synagogues.¹ According to this, it is not conceivable that Israelites, after becoming believers in Jesus as the Messiah, should have been more narrow-minded than other Israelites, and could have entertained the false notion that redemption through the manifested Messiah was intended solely for Jews, to the exclusion of Gentiles. There is in fact not a single passage of the New Testament which, rightly understood, expresses a particularism of *this* kind. The only place that sounds like it according to the letter, viz. 1 Thess. ii. 16: "They (the Jews) forbid us to speak to the Gentiles that they may be saved," certainly refers only to Paul and to the Pauline preaching of the way of salvation, and does not therefore imply an unconditional limitation of salvation to the Jewish nation on the part of those unbelieving Jews.²

Is there then no truth in the assertion that the Judaistic Christians were disposed to particularism? This is not our opinion; the assertion is correct only so far as the Judaistic Christians were not opposed to the conversion of the heathen in itself, nor to their incorporation with the Church, but only objected to

¹ Comp. Schürer, *Lehrbuch der N. T. Zeitgeschichte*, 1874, p. 644, etc.

² With respect to the Judaistic opponents of Paul in Galatia, where the first and sharpest conflict of the apostle with the Judaists is recorded, Baur himself expressly states (*Paulus*, p. 253, 2nd ed. i. 281) their reaction against the apostolic activity of Paul was not directed to prevent the *heathen* also being called to participate in the Messianic salvation; in this respect the barrier of Judaism had already been broken down even for them, but so much the more zealously disposed were they to retain the fundamental position, that even in this extended sphere salvation could be communicated only in the form of Judaism.

such incorporation unless associated with acceptance of the Mosaic law and of Judaism. The main point, that salvation in Christ was free to all men, was not in dispute; this was as firmly believed by the Judaizing Christians and Jew-apostles as by Paul. But the mode in which Christianity was to be applied to the heathen, how Christian universalism should be realized, was understood by Paul in one way and by others in another way. It is remarkable that a similar difference already existed with respect to heathen conversions made by the national Jewish propaganda. Josephus relates (*Archæology*, xx. c. ii. § 5) that King Izates of Adiabene, who was inclined to Judaism, was advised by his friend the Jewish merchant Ananias not to be circumcised, on the plea that he could worship the Deity even without circumcision, if he would only conform to Jewish customs: *δυνάμενον δὲ αὐτὸν, ἔφη, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς περιτομῆς τὸ θεῖον σέβειν, εἶγε πάντως κέκρικε ζηλοῦν τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῦτο εἶναι κυριώτερον τοῦ περιτέμνεσθαι.* But the king himself entertained conscientious scruples as to whether he could be a true Jew without circumcision. A zealot, Eleazar by name, afterwards came to Adiabene, who thus remonstrated with the king: "How long wilt thou remain uncircumcised? Hast thou never read what the law says respecting it? Read then, that thou mayest see the danger to which thy soul is exposed." Izates was actually circumcised. We have here two different views within Judaism itself. Agreeing as to the fact that the heathen also may and should be converted to the faith of Jehovah, they are at variance only as to whether knowledge and worship of the true God, associated with observance of the commands

and customs of Israel, is enough; or whether circumcision, consequently full incorporation with the Israelite people, be indispensable. In other words: one party holds it sufficient for the former Gentile to become a "proselyte of the gate," the other requiring that he should become a "proselyte of righteousness," as a step indispensable to salvation. The question therefore amounts to this: whether complete incorporation with the Jewish nation be indispensable to salvation or not. The stricter view gives an affirmative, the milder a negative answer to the question.¹

The opposition that took place within Christendom itself at the beginning is similar. The question turned not only upon the giving of salvation to the Gentiles, but on the manner of giving it. All, even the strictest Judaists, were agreed on the former point, but the question in dispute was whether the Gentiles, when they became disciples of Jesus, should also submit themselves to the Mosaic law and circumcision, *i.e.* whether they must become Jews, or whether they could dispense with this requirement. This question was discussed at the Convention in Jerusalem about the year 50, where it was decided

¹ From the standpoint of the old covenant, and from the general standpoint of antiquity, the stricter view was the more correct. The dislike of the Romans to the *religiones peregrinae*, for reasons of State, was based on the idea that foreign religions, as Mæcenas said to Augustus, ἀναπίθουσιν ἄλλοτριονομεῖν (Dio Cass. lii.), *i.e.* undermined the national feeling. Among ancient nations the transmission of religion was accompanied by the transmission of the whole nationality to the people who were to be civilised. This was the case not only among the Jews, but also among the Greeks and Egyptians. Christianity, which was essentially and in its origin the religion not of one nation but of humanity, first broke through the limitations of nationality.

according to the mind of the Apostle Paul (Acts xv. ; comp. Gal. ii.). There were certainly Judaists, not only before this decision but even after it, who believed that circumcision, *i.e.* the acceptance of Judaism, should be demanded of the Gentiles that had become believers. The Gentiles, even after they believed on Jesus Christ, as long as they were not circumcised and had not accepted Judaism in its national sense, were not looked upon as full citizens in the kingdom of God, but only as guests and strangers. Hence they were considered unclean ; social intercourse and companionship with them at table being avoided as things that defiled. Such was their particularism. All men, even heathen, were to have access to salvation in Christ, but only through the medium of Judaism.

We thus arrive at the *second*, in truth the only characteristic feature of the strict Judaizing tendency. It consisted in the assertion of the *full and permanently binding force of the Mosaic law*. The Judaizing Christians certainly recognised Jesus as the manifested Messiah, in whom the promises of the old covenant were partly fulfilled already, and partly ripening towards fulfilment at His second coming (comp. Hess, *Gesch. u. Schr. der Apostel*, 1828, i. 242, etc.). They believed, however, that no part of the law or the old covenant was abrogated on this account, but regarded it as binding and permanent in every particular, and that too with respect to all that believed on Jesus, Jews as well as Gentiles. It was this party that imposed circumcision on the Gentile Christians, and wished to subject the Galatians to the yoke of the law. They appealed to the primitive Church. In their view, James, Cephas, and John

were "pillars;" James especially being their authority. We must be careful, however, not to impute the thoughts and opinions of such persons to the Jew-apostles themselves without closer investigation: "The narrowness of the strictest Jew-believers cannot possibly throw suspicion on their teachers, the apostles" (Schneckenburger, *ante*, p. 195, note). Such an assumption cannot be taken for granted, even though these Judaists appealed directly to the primitive Church and the distinguished apostles; for have we not a case in the Acts where an appeal of this kind was disavowed by the apostles themselves, and declared to be unauthorized? (xv. 24). James, the brother of the Lord, seems to have been most inclined to that side of the question, as shown by his speech at the apostolic convention, in which we can discern the silent hope that the Gentiles may avail themselves of the opportunity presented to become acquainted with the law of Moses, and may in due time submit themselves to it freely (comp. Rothe, *Anfänge*, p. 314). The same thing appears from the statement of James in conjunction with the elders of the Church at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 20, etc.), respecting the zeal for the law shown by believing Jews and their resentment against Paul; for he urges the latter to prove by his conduct that he is not an enemy of the law. But even if one of the *δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι* was in conscience more strictly wedded to the law, it by no means follows that all the primitive apostles, a Peter and a John for example, were exactly of the same mind (comp. Credner, *Eint. ins N. T.* i. 625; Weitzel, *Christl. Passafest*, 1848, p. 176, etc.).

This alleged agreement of the elder apostles with

Ebionism, the narrowest and crudest form of Jewish thought, is occasionally carried so far that some have not hesitated to say, "If Christianity had remained at the stage occupied by the apostles themselves (with the exception of Paul), it would never have achieved its separation from Judaism. It is evident that it would have remained a doctrine within Judaism, a Jewish sect, and as such would, in the course of time, have been either re-absorbed into ancient Judaism, or would have prevailed over ordinary Judaism only in the fact that the Messiahship of Jesus would forthwith have been accepted even by the Jews as a Jewish dogma. In this Jewish form it was deprived of *all* power of development" (Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, i. 147). It would be hard to imagine a more unhistorical assertion. *Everything* in the world is capable of development; Christianity alone is to be excluded. In this case Paul, to whom is ascribed the merit of having helped Christianity to its development, must have reached his standpoint at a single bound, and have brought about the development of Christianity entirely from without! It is true the same scholar in another place silently withdraws this assumption, asserting on the contrary, "It is the *immanent* dialectic of Judaism itself, the dialectic conversion of the religion of law into the religion of freedom, which—of course within the forms of thought and religious views of that epoch—was accomplished in Paulinism" (i. 155, etc.). This declaration, however, seems to have been forced from the author against his will by the truth itself; for, in accordance with the view which runs through his book, Paul properly speaking is made the actual founder of Christianity as a thing

new in principle. On one occasion he says, "With this idea (of Paul) respecting the independence of Christianity as a *καινή κτίσις*, a principle of independent development was first given to Christianity, the breath of a new life breathed into it" (i. 152, etc.). If Paul then first breathed into Christianity the new breath of life by his idea of the *καινή κτίσις*, then is he manifestly put in the place of Christ as the true creator of spiritual Christianity, and the primitive Christianity that existed before is regarded as a lifeless form. A view as unhistorical as it is unworthy, against which no one would have raised a stronger protest than the humble Paul himself, who would thus be exalted at the expense of Him who alone is Lord and the only foundation, besides which no other can be laid,—at the expense of Jesus Christ, in whom the great apostle testifies that he himself first found life (Gal. ii. 20).¹ We must, however, examine the view still more closely.

First. It is impossible to apprehend Jewish Christianity as it originally existed in its full historical reality, if the belief that Jesus is the manifested Messiah be regarded as something quite subordinate and unimportant. All that is peculiarly Christian in the teaching of the first apostles, if put into words might be compressed into the simple sentence, "Jesus is the anointed One." But this very sentence has a comprehensive significance and an extraordinary range.

¹ Baur, *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1st ed. p. 43, protested strongly against being accused of believing that Paul was the first and true founder of Christianity as a new principle, and that Christianity in its origin was nothing but pure belief in the Messiahship of Jesus within Judaism. In the 2nd edition he makes a somewhat different declaration (p. 46, etc.), showing more consideration for men of his school such as Schwegler.

The predicate of the sentence (viz. the Messiah) was doubtless a familiar Old Testament idea. But the very fact that one who was an Israelite "waited for the consolation of Israel" (Luke ii. 25), *i.e.* held firmly to the hope of a promised Messiah, and that too at a time when the greater number had become indifferent to the promise,—sprang from a sentiment of trust in God and believing piety, which is of great value. Hence the main point is this; whence came the belief and conviction that this Jesus of Nazareth was in fact the expected Messiah? It obviously came from the impression that had been produced on the mind by the personality of Jesus. This impression must have been the more powerful, penetrating, and lasting, the greater were the hindrances that stood in the way of the conviction, viz. the misapprehension of Jesus by His own people, and the ignominious death that He suffered. The *σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ*, of which Paul often speaks, not only existed for him, but was felt by all the disciples who preceded him. In order to rise above this *σκάνδαλον* and to attain to undoubted certainty, an overpowering impression of the *personality* of Jesus was necessary in the first place; and in the second, the presence of a fact that was able to counteract the offence in question, a divine act such as the resurrection of Jesus. The resolute faith that Jesus, the crucified and risen One, the meek and lowly-minded, was the Christ, if once apprehended and firmly held, must have had this effect, viz. that the former current idea of the expected Messiah would be transformed by the actual manifested Saviour, in many essential features, and result in a not unimportant deviation on the part of believing Israelites from

those Jews who did not believe in Jesus. Moreover, the conviction that the Old Testament prophecies were fulfilled in Jesus must by degrees have brought about a complete change in the entire religious view which the disciples took of the world and of history.¹ Finally, it is in the nature of the subject that the view of the person of Jesus, retained and kept alive in the memory, must have had an elevating, spiritualizing, and emancipating influence. From what has been said, it follows indubitably that through faith in Jesus as the Messiah, a living, fruitful germ of free, spiritual development was already laid, even in those disciples who still voluntarily stood entirely on Old Testament ground and as Christians were conscious only of being the true Israel. So far the statement of Zeller (*Aphorismen über Christenthum, Jahrb. der Gegenwart*, 1844, p. 514) is quite correct: "The Pauline tendency had its allies even in the camp of the enemy (Ebionism), namely, the internal power of the Christian principle which could not deny its inborn nature, even in its Ebionite chrysalis-form, but must rather press forward to the bursting of its covering. Accordingly, even in this early form of Christianity borrowed from Judaism, the Christian Psyche was already present though veiled, and had only to break through and come to light; to which end Paul was made instrumental through divine guidance."

Second. Starting from *Paul*, we come to the same

¹ Comp. Baur, *Paulus*, 1st ed. p. 42: "This simple, still undeveloped faith (in Jesus as the Messiah) included a breach which had come into the Jewish consciousness, and must necessarily have severed Judaism and Christianity farther and farther from one another."

result as before when we made Jewish Christianity our starting-point. If we apprehend Paul's manner of thought and view in its full historical reality, without distorting it by exaggeration or by weakening, we shall find that it by no means differs so widely from Jewish Christian mode of thought in its actual form and true historical nature as to justify the conclusion that spirit and life were only on Paul's side, and on the other side only the dead letter and narrow, servile nature. It is true, if Paul wished to owe nothing to the traditions of Christ's life and history, if it were certain that "his conception of Christianity was free and outside history" (Schwegler, i. 155), the rudest contrast would unmistakably exist between Pauline Christianity and the historical form of it transmitted by tradition at that time. The Paul of this conception, however, is not the real Paul, but a caricature. We simply appeal to the development of the Pauline gospel already given to prove that it is by no means dis-severed from historical Christianity, but is rather built upon it throughout. We may mention in particular how strongly he asserts the agreement of his teaching with that of the other apostles (1 Cor. xv. 11); how he makes faith and salvation dependent on the preaching of the word, and therefore upon historical transmission and tradition (Rom. x. 17); how he leans upon the *Scripture* of the Old Testament in promise and law for all leading truths (Rom. iii. 21); how his conception of *δικαιοσύνη* has its root in the ground of the Old Testament; and lastly, how the centre, so to speak, of his Christian consciousness falls into the future,—facts which prove not only that the view of the Apostle Paul still rests upon the Old

Testament, that his mode of thought was penetrated by Jewish elements (comp. Baur, *ante*, p. 485; Schwegler, i. 154), but are likewise so many evidences of the harmony of his gospel with that of the other apostles. But with regard to the main question, in what respect the true Judaistic view differs from the Pauline, *i.e.* circumcision, Paul would only have been in irreconcilable opposition to the maxim of the Judaizing party, viz. that circumcision is absolutely necessary to Messianic salvation, if he had maintained, on the contrary, that circumcision is absolutely incompatible with Messianic salvation. The latter position, like the former, would put a moral value on circumcision; only that the sense would be negative in one case and positive in the other. But this was, in truth, not the view of Paul. Gal. v. 2 certainly has this meaning if the letter alone be considered, but if taken with the context, it can only be understood to mean that circumcision, *in so far* as it is accepted as the indispensable condition of salvation, though not in itself, is incompatible with redemption by Christ. To Paul, circumcision, like all Old Testament customs, is a thing purely subordinate in its relation to Christianity. Circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing (1 Cor. vii. 19), *i.e.* both are of no avail, and both are harmless in themselves; neither is in itself moral, both being external; and in matters of salvation nothing can depend upon them because the *πνεῦμα* alone avails. It is true that Paul was the first to have a deeper perception of the truth of the gospel by means of the grace that was given to him, that he had a clearer view of the glory of Jesus Christ the Son of God, that he pointed to Christ as the end of the law, and that he completely succeeded in

obtaining Christian freedom, also that he apprehended a new creation in redemption by Christ, definitely experiencing and representing the life-giving spirit in opposition to the letter. But with all this he did not give or create anything absolutely new; he did not stand in opposition to the gospel that had been preached by the apostles before him. On the contrary, he was called and was prepared by the special direction of his life, as well as by the peculiar *χάρισμα* of the spirit and the grace of Jesus Christ which was imparted to him, to develop germs of truth and life that had hitherto been veiled and dormant in the gospel, and to unfold the inner essence of Christianity which even the personal disciples of Jesus had not yet consciously known. In other words, he advanced Christianity only so far as he gave conscious expression to what was actually involved in it.¹

We believe that by the examination already made we have firmly established the position that the doctrinal system of the Apostle Paul, notwithstanding its peculiarity, was still in essential agreement with the antecedent preaching of the other apostles. The gospel of Paul is neither identical with that of the other apostles nor yet radically opposed to it. These two

¹ The latter position has been defended on just grounds by C. Plank in his essay on Judaism and Primitive Christianity (*Zeller's Theolog. Jahrb.* 1847, pp. 258, etc., 409, etc.), against Schweidler, as we are glad to see, although we can by no means adopt all that he has there put forward. It is matter for rejoicing that testimonies against the erroneous theory of the "Ebionism of primitive Christianity" increase even among those who either belong to the school of Baur itself, or at least stand near it. We may mention, in the first place, Ritschl's learned work, *Die Entstehung der Aitkatholischen Kirche*, with which we gladly agree in many points, and to which we are much indebted. The author was of the school of Baur, but even

assertions are equally untrue. We have no historical justification for supposing that the elder apostles entertained from the beginning views completely identical with those of Paul respecting the law and the gospel, and the Jewish and Gentile world. But it is quite as unhistorical to assert, as some have done, that Paul was in direct antagonism to the views of the primitive apostles on the most essential points; and to found a new view of early Christianity, professedly the only critical one, on this axiom. The truth lies between these two extremes. It makes its way in spite of all mockery respecting the *via media*. The mental tendencies of the Apostle Paul and of the Jew-apostles were not of a nature to exclude one another; on the contrary, they were intertwined in manifold ways. The apostles themselves stood to one another in a free, independent, and essentially harmonious position. The keynote in all is one and the same, *i.e.* living faith in Jesus of Nazareth, the crucified and risen One who is the Messiah promised to the fathers, the Saviour, and the only ground of salvation. But with this unity there were many diversities, first, with respect to the *person of Christ*. The elder apostles, the personal disciples of Jesus, who companied with Him all the time that the Lord

in the first edition of his book, 1850, put forward objections to a number of the principles laid down by this school. In the second edition of 1857, his opposition assumed a fundamental character, differing in principle. And here we must not omit to mention the essay of K. R. Köstlin, "Zur Geschichte des Urechristenthums," *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1850, 1 and 2, which opposes Schwegler's one-sided construction of history with a definite perception of the truth, although the author is sufficiently prejudiced to take for granted without further inquiry, as if they were axioms, all the critical views of Baur respecting the canonical books of the New Testament.

Jesus went in and out amongst them (Acts i. 21), retained the impression of the person of their Master as they had received it, and transmitted with the greatest possible fidelity the revelation imparted to them through the life and words of Jesus. On the other hand, Paul, who was not an eye-witness, not a personal disciple of Jesus during His walk upon earth, but who had been called at a later time by his exalted Lord, and had received from Him internal revelations, viewed with a spiritual eye less bound by sense, the glory of Jesus the Son of God; and that more clearly and penetratingly than the elder apostles had been able to do. Again, with reference to the *work of Jesus*, or the establishment of salvation by His acts and suffering, *the resurrection* of the Lord was far the most important and decisive fact for the primitive apostles, inasmuch as the offence of the ignominious death on the cross was in their case taken away, and Jesus effectually proved to be the Lord and Christ. On the other hand, Paul, who had not occupied the same relation as theirs to these important events, nor taken part in them as they had, though apprehending the full importance of the resurrection of Jesus as the fundamental fact of salvation, places the death of Jesus as an act of atonement and redemption far more prominently in the foreground. This leads us to a *third* point, viz. that Paul, who had been a persecutor of the Church of Christ, was nevertheless called by the Lord to be His disciple. The personal experience of the unmerited grace of Christ towards sinners, which he thus had, took such powerful hold on him that *sin* and *grace* became for him the fundamental conceptions, and formed as it were the poles to the axis of

truth in Christ Jesus. Hence it followed that his own personal life, as well as the history of mankind, was in his view divided into two halves—the time before and the time after Christ. This distinction was not so strongly marked for the other apostles as for Paul; their life in relation to Christ having been gradual, continual, and homogeneous. Finally, where *the relation of the gospel to the Old Testament* was concerned, the elder apostles finding their sphere of activity within the period we have in view, and as “apostles of the circumcision,” especially among the people of Israel, remained both in doctrine and walk true to the Old Testament so far as it was consistent with faith in Jesus the only Saviour. On the contrary, Paul, by the manner of his calling, by his inner experiences of sin and grace, and by his appointed sphere of action as Apostle to the Gentiles, was led to apprehend the gospel as the power of God to the salvation of *all* who believe in it, Jews as well as Gentiles; to recognise Christ as the end of the law; to preach the righteousness of God by faith in opposition to pretended righteousness by works of the law, and to apprehend redemption by Christ as a new creation; in a word, to separate Christianity entirely from Judaism. By this we do not deny that he took his stand upon the Old Testament in harmony with the other apostles while preaching the gospel and unfolding its truths; nor that he in his own person walked according to the law, whereas the other apostles on their part agreed with Paul respecting the calling of the Gentiles into the kingdom of God, and the rejection of Judaistic demands upon the Gentile Christians.

The two tendencies, therefore, did not exclude, but

rather supplemented one another. We find multiplicity with agreement, and unity in diversity between Paul on the one hand and the elder apostles on the other. We recognise the *same* spirit in the diversities of gifts, the same Lord in the differences of administrations, the same God in the diversities of powers and operations, 1 Cor. xii. 4, etc.

SECOND LEADING DIVISION.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE PAULINE SYSTEM OF DOCTRINE AND THE TEACHING OF THE OTHER APOSTLES AS SHOWN IN THEIR WRITINGS.

It is necessary to keep the three different types apart, and in the first place to compare each one separately with the doctrinal system of the Apostle Paul. A general survey will then follow.

A. JAMES AND PAUL.

It is usual in determining the relation between the two systems of doctrine to limit oneself where James is concerned to the section ii. 14, etc., as has been done in the 2nd edition of this work, p. 252, etc., as well as by W. Schmidt, *Lehrgehalt des Jakobusbriefs*, 1869. This one-sided course of proceeding can scarcely lead to an adequate result. We believe we ought to consider the Epistle of James *as a whole*, and compare it with the substance of Paul's teaching. The prevailing character of the Epistle, as we have already seen, p. 293, vol. i., etc., is moral and practical; it has no doctrinal, dialectic development, as the Pauline

writings have. It is true that neither original ideas are wanting nor spiritual aperçus, but they are put forward in concise, sententious language, and never thoroughly developed. Not only are the two men manifestly different as individuals but also as writers and characters; there is likewise a difference in the time when they wrote. The Pauline Epistles show an advanced development of Christian life and thought; while James belongs to an earlier and far more elementary stage in the development of primitive Christianity. This is due to the circumstance that the personal teaching of Christ, especially as contained in the Sermon on the Mount, lives in the memory of James with a freshness inconceivable to a Paul.¹ It is also due in some measure to the fact that the glance of James is far more intently fixed on the glorified Christ whose second coming is at hand, than on the Saviour in His atoning death. Moreover, it is characteristic of James as compared with Paul, that he apprehends Christianity as the paramount law of life, not as coinciding with Mosaism but as the perfect law of freedom;² notwithstanding which he regards it pre-eminently as the moral rule of conduct.

¹ Comp. W. Schmidt, "Char. u. Abfassungszeit des Jakobusbriefs," in *Predigt und Vorträge*, etc., Leipzig 1884, p. 76: "All the other epistolary writings of the New Testament together do not contain nearly so many reminiscences of the discourses of Jesus as the *one* Epistle of James."

² Something of evangelical freedom lies in the idea of the νόμος πίστεως τῆς ἐλευθερίας, while Paul on his side also speaks of a νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος, though the two points of view do not fully coincide. Stanley expresses himself very beautifully of the Epistle of James, echoing the words of Isaac in Gen. xxvii. 22: "Its voice is the voice of the new dispensation, but its outward form and figure belongs almost entirely to the older. It is not opposed to the teaching of St. Paul and St. John, but it is St. Paul and St. John on a lower stage" (*Sermons and Essays*, p. 310, etc.).

If, however, his whole conception resolved itself into morality, he would be no Christian. But this cannot be said of James. He is "a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (i. 1); for him faith is a great and glorious thing, mighty and powerful; see above, p. 302, vol. i., etc. Here James is in fundamental harmony with Paul. Does he not recognise in sin a connection with the invisible kingdom of darkness; in conversion, an act of God by which He has begotten us to be the first-fruits of all His creatures (p. 301, vol. i., etc.); in the prayer of faith, miraculous power (p. 302, vol. i.); while his believing glance is directed to the second coming of Christ as the Judge of the world who fulfils the highest promises? All these are specific features of Christian thought common to the Gentile apostle also. James is as evangelical as Paul in basing salvation not upon human merit but upon a divine gift (*δῶρημα*, i. 17), *i.e.* upon *grace*, the greatest operation of which is regeneration. The Apostle Paul, in consequence of the experiences which he made, perceived and developed deeper truths, by virtue of a dialectic and speculative gift as well as a divine illumination—truths which were remote to a James at his time, and with his empirical mode of thinking and practical tendency. But the latter, from his predominant moral bias, labours on every occasion to show that Christianity must be an honest, complete, and solid thing, not a half thing, hollow, one-sided, and powerless (see, p. 293, vol. i.). It is merely an *application* of this fundamental position when James insists that faith is a genuine, solid, living thing; that it should manifest itself in works and therefore ripen to full completion; for faith without works is vain,

powerless, even lifeless. This is the germ of the idea which is expanded in ii. 14–26. It is only in order to bring Scripture proof in support of his position that faith without works is vain, of no avail, that James in the course of his exposition gives expression to the sentiment that a man is justified by works, not by faith only (ii. 24). In any case Baur has no foundation for his assertion that the position: ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον, is the main theme of James' teaching (*Paulus*, 1st ed. p. 677; 2nd ed. ii. 322, etc.). He himself is unprejudiced enough to acknowledge that the polemic against the Pauline doctrine of justification is not made prominent as the principal subject of the Epistle, but only comes to be discussed in connection with the practical exhortation to perfection of Christian life and walk (*Paulus*, 1st ed. p. 691; 2nd ed. ii. 339, etc.).

In determining the relation between James and Paul, great importance is due to the fact that in the section in question James' original aim is to vindicate a more general thought, his appeal to the authority of Scripture having no other object than to convince his hearers of the truth of his argument, so that he is only led in this way to the idea of justification before God and to the assertion: ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον. This very circumstance is against rather than in favour of the theory (to which, with Schmid, *bibl. Theol.* ii. 98, and W. Schmidt, *Lehrgehalt*, p. 181, the second edition of my book, p. 255, adheres) that a reference to Paul and Pauline ideas lies at the foundation of James' Epistle. We are not obliged, either by the words or the context of the section, to assume that James took the field directly against the teaching and writings of the

Gentile apostle. But neither have we any foundation for the assumption (Neander, *Pflanzung und Leitung*, ii. 265, etc., and Schneckenburger, *Annotatio*) that the passage, ii. 14, etc., is directed against *Jewish* aberration and modes of thought, viz. the one-sided overestimate of a still undeveloped monotheistic perception of God, a kind of righteousness by works. Here, as in other parts of his Epistle, James has rather to do with practical error within the (Jewish Christian) Churches, which had crept in quite independently of Pauline principles, and was antecedent to the results of Paul's mission to the Gentiles and church-training, viz. self-deception with regard to a state of faith unaccompanied by its exemplification in conduct (comp. Weiss, *N. T. Theol.* 4th ed. p. 180, etc.).

We are unable to recognise either a direct (intentional and conscious) polemic on James' part against the teaching and writings of the Apostle Paul, or an indirect attack on views that may be traced back to Paul even by misapprehension. But apart from this, we must examine how the teaching of James, ii. 14, etc., esp. ver. 21, etc., is related to that of the Apostle Paul.

James says, in ii. 24: ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον.

Paul says, in Rom. iii. 28: δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου.

The question is, Is there an irreconcilable contradiction between the two statements? Both treat of man's subjective condition, in which he is declared righteous by God and is regarded as such. That δικαιοῦσθαι with James does not express a different conception from Paul's, we consider proved by the

usage of the Old Testament פְּרָשָׁה, of the *δικαιοῦν* in the Septuagint, and of the context of the passage under discussion, with special reference to *ἐλογίσθη* and *φίλος θεοῦ ἐκλήθη*, ver. 23.

Paul portrays faith as a subjective condition of the justifying judgment of God, to the exclusion of the works of the law; James presents faith in connection with works, the faith which is made perfect in works (*ἐτελειώθη*, ver. 22), proving itself vital and valid. Without doubt this is a contrast; but, be it observed, not the sharpest contrast conceivable. It would be so if the statement that man is justified by works alone, and by works of the law *without faith*, stood over against the statement of Paul, "Man is justified by faith without works." But the former is not at all the meaning of James, who on the contrary makes faith decidedly a condition of justification, only not faith *alone*, but faith in connection with works, *i.e.* not with works of the law, but with acts of Christian morality. James' only reason for laying down this axiom as to the indispensability of works to faith in case of attaining to *δικαίωσις* is, that he has in view a pretended, dead faith (ii. 14-26), with which an ungodly life is associated (iii. 1, etc., iv. 1, etc.). Hence, to prevent self-deception, he demands signs, living testimonies of genuine faith; and these are works without which a man cannot be righteous before God. Paul on his side acknowledges only that faith to be genuine and justifying from which sanctification and good works proceed (Gal. v. 6: *πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη*). Nevertheless the fact remains that Paul could never have expressed himself as James has done; and that the position of the latter is certainly opposed to that of the former.

The relation between them has been excellently formulated by Kern (*Brief Jakobi*, p. 47) as follows: "With Paul faith is the source of good works, because it is faith that justifies; with James faith justifies, because it is the source of good works, and by them proves itself living and active." It is not advisable to weaken this contrast in order to obtain a harmony at any price, but we are not therefore justified in concluding that James meant, consciously and designedly, to combat a doctrinal sentiment of Paul, inasmuch as the necessity of this assumption can by no means be demonstrated from the text. We freely admit an opposition between the two statements; but are convinced that the antithesis is only subordinate not fundamental, because the points of agreement between the two doctrinal conceptions are far more important than the points of difference. We must not forget in particular that it is only the sharpened didactic form, the conceptual mode, which makes the opposition of the two statements in question appear. James, however, agrees with Paul inasmuch as even he does not acknowledge the meritoriousness of works. While Paul rejects every opinion of this kind expressly and in the strongest manner, James tacitly assents, for there is not the slightest trace of such an opinion to be found in his Epistle: he does not assert a *δικαίωσις ἐξ ἔργων* absolutely, but *ἐξ ἔργων οἷς ἡ πίστις συνεργεῖ*. At the same time the *ἔργα* are not with him *ἔργα νόμου* in the Mosaic sense, but *ἔργα νόμου ἐλευθερίας*, *i.e.* works which proceed from faith in the gospel and from regeneration. The latter is a very important point. The conception of regeneration (Jas. i. 18) by the free will of God, free grace, as Kern rightly remarks, *ante*, p. 48, etc., would

logically lead to the conclusion that justification is subjective, conditioned by faith alone. But there is a want of the dialectic and speculative thought by which Paul is distinguished in his development of Christian doctrine. As to man's laying hold of grace, James agrees with Paul in the idea that it takes place only by *living faith*, consequently (a) not by works of law, which Paul expressly denies, while James holds no other view; (b) not by a *dead faith*, as James expressly states, while Paul (Gal. v. 6; 1 Cor. xiii. 2) has no other opinion. In agreement with this is the fact that James, like Paul, puts faith and works in organic connection with one another, so that both are in perfect agreement respecting the fundamental truths of Christian knowledge. Paul stands on a higher platform of thought-development only by virtue of his peculiar genius and life-experience, especially by the power of his gift in laying hold of the *principle* and carrying it out in logical thought.

Our comparison between the doctrine of James and that of Paul has shown that they differ from one another as Jewish from Gentile Christianity (the former the Christianity of *νόμος*, the latter of grace; the former having in view believers from among Israel, the latter, Gentile Christians and mixed Churches); but they also differ as a predominant moral and practical tendency differs from a mode of thought which, though practical also, is at the same time reflective, deductive, and elaborating; lastly, as the empirical differs from the speculative gift (comp. Baur, *Paulus*, 1st ed. p. 683, etc., 2nd ed. ii. 329; Reuss, *Histoire de la théol. chr.* ii. 530, etc.; Bonifas, *l'Unité de l'enseignement apost.* p. 251, etc.).

The Epistle of James is unmistakeably adapted to an earlier stage of the development of Christian life and evangelical preaching. Although James only attained to faith as a consequence of the resurrection of Jesus, yet we are conscious in his case of a continuous advance in the inward man; while Paul, by the revulsion that took place in his inner life, was changed and lifted up with one powerful wrench as it were, so that from a persecutor he became an apostle; gaining by this means a deeper knowledge of the person of Jesus Christ and His atoning death, a fuller insight into sin and grace, and the joyful possession of evangelical freedom. But the difference between James and Paul is doubtless most strongly marked in their respective statements as to the justification of man before God, inasmuch as James declares "man is justified by works, and not by faith only," while Paul asserts that "man is justified by faith, without the works of the law." The contrast between these two theses is not, however, absolutely the sharpest, as we have already seen. Neither of the two men affirms the meritoriousness of works, while Paul as well as James assumes the existence of a living active faith manifesting itself in love. But what has the greatest weight, is that the statement of James before us comes up only incidentally; whereas he makes it all-important that the Christian faith should be genuine, profound, energetic, and that the Christian life generally should be full, complete, and vigorous. Hence, notwithstanding the distinction between Paul and James, unity is not wanting in the main points of Christian faith and Church doctrine. A position beside Paul necessarily belongs to James, an abiding value, an inalienable right, in the face

of all aberration and leaning to vain formality, idle presumption of knowledge, rigid orthodoxy, high-flown antinomianism, and practical latitudinarianism.¹

B. THE RELATION OF PETER TO JAMES AND PAUL.

If, in the first place, we compare the doctrine of the Apostle *Peter*, as already (p. 135, vol. ii., etc.) extracted from his first Epistle, with that of James, we are at once struck with a double peculiarity which is common to both, namely, attachment to the Old Testament, hence a prevailing practical and moral drift, inasmuch as Peter, like James, insists throughout his whole Epistle on the attestation of Christianity by good works, on abstaining from worldly lusts, on prayer, and above all on holiness of conversation. In both points, however, a difference is observable; whilst James looks upon Christianity as law, but as the perfect law of liberty, Peter ignores the conception of law entirely, touching upon the Mosaic commandments and ordinances only in passing, but showing, on the other hand, all the greater predilection for the *promises*, because Christianity is in his view not so much a fulfilling of the *law* as of *prophecy*. As to the other point, Peter is distinguished from James mainly by the circumstance that his exhortations are far more interwoven with didactic arguments and supported by specific Christian dogmas. Consistently with this, the *doctrine* of the Petrine Epistle is on the whole more developed than that of James. For example, with respect to the person of

¹ Comp. Stanley, *Sermons and Essays*, p. 316, etc.; Schaff, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 622.

Christ, whom Peter considers not merely with James as the exalted Lord, but also as pre-existing and working *before* His incarnation, a view which influences his whole theology; and again, with regard to the work of Christ, chiefly in so far as Peter definitely and repeatedly sets forth the death of Jesus as an act of atonement by which the salvation of sinners is established, which James passes over in silence. Both regard the inner life of the Christian as the effect of regeneration; but Peter refers it more immediately and fully to Christ than James does; comp. Schmid, *Bibl. Theol.* 2nd ed. pp. 158, etc., 190, etc., 206, etc., and Bonifas, *l'Unité de l'enseignement apostolique*, p. 68, etc.

While the Petrine doctrine shows an unmistakable advance as compared with that of James, it is behind that of *Paul*, which is incomparably fuller and has a deeper development. Views differ very widely, however, as to the latter relation. On one hand, the opinion that no fundamental, essential distinction exists between the Pauline and Petrine doctrine, still finds many supporters. Not only do Baur, *Christenthum*, 2nd ed. p. 123; *N. T. Theol.* p. 287, etc.; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeit.* ii. 28, and others of this school maintain that the First Epistle of Peter is essentially Pauline; but Lutterbeck, *Neutest. Lehrbegriffe*, ii. 178, even ventures to assert that a separate presentation of the doctrine of the First Epistle of Peter is "scarcely necessary, since it would only be an anticipation of Pauline doctrine." But although the alleged identity of the two systems of doctrine cannot be proved, yet there is a certain agreement between them which, on the other hand, has been overlooked by Bernhard Weiss, *Petrin. Lehrbegriff*,

inasmuch as he tries to bring down the ideas of the first Epistle to a lower stage of development throughout. Peter is in truth at one with Paul regarding the main facts of salvation: *Jesus Christ* the Redeemer, *the Son of God*, active in the old covenant before His historical appearance; the death of Jesus on the cross, the vicarious, atoning death for sinful humanity; His resurrection the indispensable condition of our redemption; between these the *descent* of Christ into the *under-world*, mentioned in the New Testament only by Peter and Paul. Both apostles clearly mark the antithesis between redemption, as *grace*, and the sin and guilt of mankind,—*grace*, moreover, being in their view designed for all humanity, inasmuch as Peter writes also to Gentile Christians, in accordance with our previous showing (p. 137, vol. ii. note).¹ Both apostles regard the inner Christian life as implanted by *regeneration*, and as consisting in faith, love, and hope, the forgiveness of sins being the first gift of grace, though the Christian must prove himself such in sanctification. Both teach Christian fellowship as a community of life which has its foundation in grace, and only awaits its completion. These truths which they have in common are certainly many and important. But in all these points the difference is still so appa-

¹ Weiss, *ante*, p. 144, etc., is indeed of opinion that Peter has only Jewish Christians in view, leaving Gentile Christians quite out of account. Yet he himself has no doubt (p. 159) that Peter afterwards, *i.e.* after sending off his Epistle, “understood the purpose of God as revealed in the grand development of the Gentile Church,” and changed his earlier view. Very good! But, according to the Epistle, this change had at that time already taken place. Hence, in the case of Peter, a difference of opinion exists only as to the *time* of this inner progress and not as to its *actuality*.

rent that we cannot mistake the Jewish-Christian basis underlying the peculiar character of the Petrine doctrine, or fail to see that its development is less advanced, its thought less fundamental and connected. With regard to the first point, the whole life of Jesus passes before the mind of Peter in a way impossible to Paul. Only one who had himself lived to see how all hope of Israel seemed annihilated by the cross of the Saviour, who had been born again to a lively hope (i. 3, etc.) by the resurrection, could bear so joyful a testimony to the resurrection of the Lord. Add to this that Peter had been a witness of the *resurrection* of Christ. Paul, on the contrary, became a witness to the atoning death of Christ; Christ the crucified was the subject of his preaching (1 Cor. ii. 2, i. 23). Besides, in Peter everything is looked at in the light of the Old Testament as a whole, and is so coloured; whereas, in the case of the Gentile Apostle, who also took the old covenant for his basis but apprehended Christ as "the end of the law," this was not possible. It is only intelligible where an *ἀπόστολος περιτομῆς* is concerned. In harmony with this, the fear of God is made prominent as the nucleus of piety, all discussion about *νόμος* and such like is wanting, the Old Testament view of Christianity being carried out, whereas these features appear in Paul but partially. The less developed, less fundamental, and less systematic character is revealed not only in the less perfect unity of the doctrine as a whole, but also in this, viz. that the nature of sin and grace, the specific element of justification, is not put in a doctrinal form. Comp. Reuss, *ante*, ii. 584; Schmid, *ante*, ii. 207, 209. That faith, as a subjective moment, is differently

regarded by Peter and by Paul, the former attaching far greater importance to Christian hope, the prospect of glory after suffering,—we shall here but briefly indicate, referring our readers to Weiss, *ante*, pp. 65, etc., 79, and to our own earlier discussion. But the Petrine doctrine, although unmistakably inferior to Paul's in conceptual grasp and unity of knowledge, has still its permanent value by reason of its peculiar practical and moral character, as well as its method of teaching which faithfully adheres to the unity of the old and new covenant, and emphasizes the Christian element of hope with special fervour and animation. As Peter has addressed his testimony respecting the fulfilment of the promises in Christ to Gentile Christian Churches, we, the posterity of converted Gentiles, need constantly to be reminded of Peter's teaching as to the connection and unity of all divine revelation, in which alone sound truth lies hid,—and this is the more necessary in proportion as Christian development, and Christian science in particular, assert the new and creative power of Christianity.¹

C. JOHN AND PAUL.

In finally passing to John, and taking together both classes of the Johannine writings, Apocalypse and Gospel with Epistles, in conformity with the examination we have already made, we find that these writings not only presuppose the Pauline system of doctrine, but also present the highest perfection of all other New Testament teaching.

¹ Comp. the beautiful words uttered by B. Weiss to this effect, *Petrin. Lehrbegriff*, 196, 231, etc.

First. In his teaching respecting *the person of Christ*, John agrees with Paul in setting forth with warm predilection and marked emphasis the divine glory and eternal exaltation of Christ as well as His true humanity. Both recognise in Jesus a person¹ proceeding from God Himself, and consider the Redeemer as of one essence with Him. But whilst Paul, even when treating of the Redeemer in His prehistorical state, speaks simply of "Christ," we find in John so great an advance of thought that he describes *the Logos*, the essential Word (or according to 1 John i. 2, the eternal Life), as having become man.² John directs his view especially to the divine in the person of Christ, and thus makes a great stride towards understanding the threefold nature of God, not only with Paul as a distinction *ab extra*, a trinity revealed, but as an inner relation of God to God, *i.e.* as a trinity of essence. Paul looks at the *incarnation* in the light of a voluntary humiliation on the part of Christ, from which, after having condescended lower and lower, down to death on the cross, He was again exalted; John, on the other hand, whose prevailing point of view is not antithetic and polemic, but internal and coalescent, regards the incarnation as the perfect revelation of the Life or the Logos, so that the full glory of the Only-begotten of the Father was manifested in the human appearance of Jesus, even in His corporeity, God and man being

¹ Köstlin, *Joh. Lehrbegriff*, p. 306.

² Messner, *Lehre der Apostel*, p. 399, finds nothing more than a difference of terminology not of view, in the fact that John designates Christ before His appearance in the flesh as *Logos*, and Paul not. It appears to us that the distinction lies not merely in the expression but in the idea itself; comp. Godet, *Comm. sur l'Ev. de St. Jean*, ii. 1877, p. 111, etc.

united in *one* in the person of Jesus Christ, in whom heaven and earth, spirit and flesh, are made one.

Second. While Paul makes the crucifixion, the vicarious, atoning death, the centre of the *work of Christ*, John too (in the Apocalypse and Gospel), with full emphasis extols the Lamb of God who bears the sins of the world. With John, however, the coming of Christ into the world is the all-embracing great fact, the death on the cross being only a proof of the love and grace of God; whereas Paul is lost in admiration of the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* revealed and communicated in the propitiatory death of Jesus.

Third. John does not follow up sin, as Paul does, in its gradual development within the life of individuals and humanity, yet both agree perfectly in their perception of the ultimate origin of sin in humanity as a whole, and of the innate sinfulness of every man in particular. Whilst John, with grand comprehensive view, declares the character of the world that lies in the wicked one to be darkness, hatred, and death, he still apprehends as clearly as Paul the freedom of the will, and the possibility left to man of loving the light and the truth, and of being converted.

Fourth. Although the two apostles agree so closely in their belief in the redemption of the sinner by God's grace in Christ, yet in their doctrinal discussion of the way of salvation they disagree, inasmuch as Paul lays chief stress on the *justification* of the sinner by faith; while John, though also testifying to the forgiveness of sins, does not give prominence to the judicial element, but emphasizes the *new* divine life which is implanted by the power of God, through

faith, in regeneration, and is maintained in communion with the Father and the Son. In other words, John, in his conception of regeneration, does not attach chief importance to the new as contrasted with the old, but to the communication and power of eternal life.¹

Fifth. In John we find no longer any trace of Pauline striving for the evangelical freedom of Christians, of the opposition presented by Paul between righteousness by faith and righteousness by the law, or of his struggle for the right of Gentile Christians to entrance into the Church of Christ without circumcision and subjection to the Mosaic yoke. On the other hand, the secure possession of all that Paul had gained, is taken for granted in John's writings. The gospel is completely loosed from the narrow bondage of Judaistic limitation, freely and joyfully we breathe the pure mountain air of perfect liberty in Christ Jesus. With blissful rapture the spirit beholds the manifested glory of the Only-begotten, in whom we have received grace and truth, blessings that stand far above the law that was given by Moses.

Sixth. John, like Paul, regards the Christian *Church* as a fellowship with God the Father through Christ in the Holy Spirit; only that in him the view of life-communion with Christ is carried out in greater purity and fulness. As in the Apostle Paul's view, Christ is the head, the Church the body, so in John Jesus represents Himself as the vine, His disciples being the branches, which can only do

¹ Comp. Reuss, *ante*, ii. 428, etc. He formulates it excellently as follows: "Selon Paul, il s'agit de mourir pour naître; et selon Jean, de naître pour vivre." Unquestionably Reuss has here made not only an acute but also a correct observation.

something, *i.e.* bring forth fruit, when attached to the vine. Comp. the instructive parallel between Johannine and Pauline doctrine in Lange, *Gesch. d. Kirche*, ii. 603, etc. Hence the whole testimony of John respecting the sanctification of believers and their inability to sin, together with his attestation that the commands of God are not difficult, rests on close communion of life and nature with Christ, an ideal conception to which Paul also approaches when he represents believers as ἐν πνεύμα with Christ (1 Cor. vi. 17), as ἄζυμοι, as φῶς ἐν κυρίῳ and not as σκότος (1 Cor. v. 7; 2 Cor. vi. 14; Eph. v. 8), and directs his view to the object of sanctification (εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ, Eph. i. 4).

Seventh. Attention has been frequently and fully drawn to the many points of contact between the Pauline doctrine of *last things* and the Johannine Apocalypse (W. Georgii *Theol. Jahrb.* 1845, p. 11, etc.; Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 58, etc.; Messner, *ante*, p. 420, etc.). Consider, for example, the double resurrection, the kingdom or reign of the blessed with Christ, the doctrine of Antichrist. Not only the Apocalypse, however, but also the First Epistle of John, has the last of these facts in common with Paul; the Johannine ἀντίχριστος corresponding exactly to the Pauline ἀντικείμενος, as the absolute enemy of Christ, whose power lies in the region of the spiritual and moral, whose ultimate principle is Satan, while he himself appears as a human personality (Lücke, *Comm. über die joh. Briefe*, 2nd ed. p. 193, etc.). We are thus led to the analogy that also exists between the doctrine of the Epistles and Gospel and that of Paul regarding the last things.

Their agreement with respect to the future visible coming of Christ, the resurrection of the body, the judgment and the life of the blessed, is self-evident, unless we misapprehend the Gospel so as to dissipate all that it contains into mere ideas, into nothing but spirit, into spirits themselves.¹ Comp. Bonifas. *l'Unité de l'enseignement apost.* pp. 262, etc.

If we survey once more the whole range of apostolic doctrine as already examined, from the first missionary discourse of Peter to the Johannine Gospel, indubitably the latest writing of the New Testament, embracing a period of perhaps fifty years, we have before us a phenomenon such as does not occur twice in the history of humanity. What multiplicity of minds, what variety of natural parts, of life and sphere of action! But with all this, what surprising unity in the main! Here is certainly *in necessariis unitas*, a great consensus of the apostolic *κήρυγμα*, as Paul attests in 1 Cor. xv. 11, 3, etc. We found the apostolic discourses to Jews and Gentiles, all the apostolic Epistles to Jewish and Gentile Christians united in this leading truth, viz. *Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ; in Him alone is salvation for all*. All that the apostles teach is contained in this confession of faith as in a nutshell; their doctrine of faith and morals, so far as it can be carried out in its height and depth, length and breadth, is but an unfolding of this fundamental truth. He Himself, the Lord of glory whom they confess with *one* mouth and preach.

¹ Comp. Baur, *N. T. Theol.* p. 407: "This is again the same idealism to which even historical reality is at last but an external form."

is the personal centre of their life and faith. They themselves are personally one in Him: *εἰς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα* (Eph. iv. 5). Their teaching, too, agrees in its essential features; comp. Lutterbeck, *ante*, ii. 138, etc.; Schaff, *ante*, p. 608; Bonifas, *ante*, p. 379, etc. The unity is especially marked in the historical *leading facts* of the life of Jesus, viz. His crucifixion and resurrection. To the preaching of the Saviour is attached the doctrine of salvation, sin, and redemption, also agreeing in substance. With respect to the mode of obtaining salvation, James and Peter, Paul and John are in almost verbal agreement as to the fact that the new life of the Christian is produced only by regeneration. They all acknowledge the forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit to be the chief blessing of believers; while, on the other hand, all the apostles with one mind make holiness of walk an indispensable requirement. The apostolic unity of doctrine regarding Christian *hope* is particularly clear, all the apostolic writings are completely at one in teaching that the crucified and risen One, the exalted Redeemer, the Son of man which He is continually, shall come again visibly to judge the quick and the dead and to bestow everlasting blessedness on His own. In conclusion, we mention only *one* point of the great apostolic consensus: the Old Testament the basis of the new, the basis of the coherence of *all* divine revelation. Even Paul fully recognises this truth, however much he puts in the foreground the newness and freedom of grace in Christ.

It is sufficiently obvious from the foregoing description that the unity of the doctrinal conceptions of the New Testament is not an identity, but embraces

manifold distinctions, a fulness of peculiar developments. The peculiarity of each doctrinal conception is such that it may be followed through all points even to the minutest particular. These very differences within the unity of the apostolic doctrine enhance the completeness of the harmony and preserve its living freshness. They answer this purpose in all time. It is not for us to go through these distinctions again. Some excellent remarks on the subject are to be found in Lutterbeck, *ante*, ii. pp. 138, etc., 206, etc., 260, etc., 300; Godet, *Bibelstudien*, ii. 1878, p. 207, etc. An acute and far-reaching observation was made by Hugo Grotius even in his day, to the effect that Peter was a *φιλόχριστος*; John, on the other hand, a *φιλοιησοῦς*, *i.e.* the former loved the Messianic *dignity* of the Saviour above all, the latter His divine-human person. The characteristic difference of view with respect to the Holy Ghost consists in the fact that Peter looks upon the Holy Ghost as a *gift* sent down from heaven (1 Pet. i. 12), while Paul regards the Spirit as an *inward possession*, an element of *new* life, and John makes it the source of *eternal life*. But we must not linger on these comparisons. We pass on to the more general observation, that in the development of apostolic doctrine as a whole Paul with his life-work and teaching unmistakably forms the centre, inasmuch as the writings of Peter and John that were composed after His appearance bear traces of Pauline doctrine. We for our part cannot see anything inconsistent with the character of the primitive apostles or with apostolic dignity and independence, in the assumption that they were influenced by the intellectual power of Paul. If the apostles were to

be gradually led by the Spirit into all truth, there is nothing contradictory in the acknowledgment that under the guidance of the Spirit and within the brotherly *κοινωνία* one served to advance the rest in the truth, especially where the instrumentality of that one was so greatly blessed.

If every doctrine complete in itself be valued only according to acuteness of conception, logical development, systematic unity, in short according to its scientific completeness, the Pauline doctrinal system undoubtedly stands on the highest platform. But it is still surpassed by the Johannine in sweep of spirit and mystic intuition which, carried along by pious love to the Lord, aims at the centre and reaches the highest unity. John, with his doctrinal system that adjusts and reconciles all the antitheses in apostolic teaching, presents the highest perfection within the New Testament canon. What is most surprising is the simplicity of language and form in which he clothes the highest thought; it is highest truth presented in purest beauty of form.

Just as the unity of apostolic teaching is the support of the faith and life of the Church of Christ in all time, so also the *difference* and the characteristic peculiarity of the separate systems of doctrine are serviceable to the Church and individuals of every age. There are persons, there are times, modes of thought and tendencies, in which James or Peter, Paul or John is reflected (see the able treatise of A. Löwe, *Johannes und Paulus in der Geschichte und Gegenwart*, in Lücke and Wieseler's *Vierteljahrsschrift*, iv. 1848, p. 61, etc.; comp. Weiss, *Petrin. Lehrbegriff*, pp. 97, 331, etc.; Stanley, *Sermons*, p. 173, etc.; Godet, *Bibelstudien*, ii. p. 209, etc.).

But it is only the whole that is also the sound; and *every one* of the apostolic doctrinal conceptions is given to Christendom as a rule and means of advancement. This everlasting importance of the collective doctrines of the New Testament impels us to adoring admiration of the divine wisdom, when we consider that all the New Testament writings were nothing but occasional works composed in given circumstances for definite readers, for a special time, and are now of permanent significance to men of all places and all times, containing unexhausted and inexhaustible treasures of wisdom and knowledge, as also of everlasting life. Thanks be unto God for His unspeakable gift (2 Cor. ix. 15).

SECOND BOOK.

THE POST-APOSTOLIC PERIOD.



HERE also we keep the Churches of Jewish and Gentile Christians apart, conformably to the purpose which we have in view. But we find reason where the former are concerned, for going outside the boundaries of the post-apostolic period, so called in a narrower sense; while keeping within those limits with respect to the Gentile Christians. Consequently we shall not go beyond the end of the second century after Christ, when a new period, that of "the Old Catholic Church," begins with the time of an Irenæus, a Tertullian, and a Clement of Alexandria. Since it is now recognised, and even admitted by the school of Baur, that at the end of the second century, when a "universal" united Church was already in existence, the antithesis between Petrine and Pauline tendencies or Judaism and Paulinism, were adjusted, our task does not lead us beyond that time. On the other hand, with respect to Jewish Christianity it is important both to follow the Judaistic tendency to its disappearance, and to indicate as far as possible the traces of national-

Jewish Churches. The two things are impossible without going beyond the time specified. We proceed to the latter task.

FIRST PART.

THE JEWISH CHRISTIANS.

The fanatical hatred of the Jews against the Jewish Christians, that had grown stronger and stronger from the time of the Jewish-Roman war, led to the martyrdom at the age of 120 years of Simeon, the successor of James in the leadership of the Church at Jerusalem. According to Hegeppus, in Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. c. 32, certain adherents of the Jewish sects denounced him as a Christian and a descendant of David, and finally succeeded in bringing about his crucifixion, which took place under Trajan, in the year 107. Ten years later there were risings of the Jews in various parts, in Babylonia, Egypt, Cyrene, and in the island of Cyprus; and in the year 118, when Hadrian ascended the throne, the revolt in Palestine broke out into a blaze, but was put down for a time by the Emperor through measures of concession.¹ At last, in the year 132, the insurrection that had been in silent preparation for twelve years broke out under the priest Eleazar and the pseudo-Messianic revolutionary hero

¹ Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. 1853, pp. 148, etc., and 510, tries to prove that Hadrian even gave permission for the restoration of the temple. But on a careful examination of the point, not a single source, excepting one Talmudic passage, makes any mention of such permission, but only of independent attempts of the Jews to build up their temple again.

Simon Bar-Cochba, not without considerable influence on the part of the Rabbi Akiba, who had travelled a great deal for the purpose of agitation.¹ Its object was to recover the freedom of the nation, and to restore the Jewish state. The Christians in Judea did not, on principle, attach themselves to the insurrectionists; and stedfastly refused to take any part in fighting against the Romans. For this they had to suffer fearfully: Simon Bar-Cochba, while sparing the captive Romans, had many Christians executed because they refused to deny Jesus, and because they were apostates and spies. Consequently, after the revolt had been suppressed, when the Emperor Hadrian planted a colony in the year 135 on the ruins of Jerusalem, a military camp which was called "Aelia Capitolina," and which the Jews were not permitted even to enter on pain of death,—the Christians who assembled in the new heathen city chose for the first time a Gentile Christian Marcus for their bishop, whereas formerly they had had none but circumcised bishops.² How shall we picture the Church in Aelia Capitolina? The choice of a non-Israelite, one who was uncircumcised, as head of the Christian Church at

¹ Grätz, iv. p. 157; Renan, *Les Évangiles*, 1877, p. 515, etc.; Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, 1867, pp. 395, etc., 418, etc.; Theodor Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*, vol. v. 1885, p. 544, etc.

² From James to the war under Hadrian, Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 5. § 2) counts fifteen bishops: πάντας Ἑβραίους ὄντας ἀνέκαθεν . . . ἐκ περιτομῆς. In the same work, speaking of the Church at Jerusalem as a whole, Eusebius says that from the time of the apostles to the siege under Bar-Cochba, it had been purely Jewish Christian, συνεσπᾶναι αὐτοῖς τότε πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ Ἑβραίων πιστῶν. On the other hand, he says of the newly-assembled Church in Aelia Capitolina, c. 6. § 4: καὶ δὴ τῆς αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἑθνῶν συγχροτηθείσης, πρῶτος μετὰ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐπισκόπους τὴν τῶν ἐκείσε λειτουργίαν ἐγχειρίζεται

Jerusalem, demanded on the part of a Jewish Christian a victory over self, a suppression of hereditary, national feeling, of which at most only some of the Jewish Christians would be capable. But apart from the choice of a Gentile Christian as bishop, no Jew was permitted to set foot in the city, by virtue of an express command of the Imperial founder; an Imperial decree imposed the severest punishment on all who should observe circumcision and the Sabbath. Hence only such Christians might settle there as could in no sense be looked upon as Jews, that is Gentile Christians only, and at most such Jewish Christians as were connected with the Jews solely by their descent, but not by the customs, usages, and observance of Mosaism. Thus where a Christian descended from the Hebrews was concerned, the fact of dwelling in Aelia implied a complete renunciation of the law and of Judaism; a standpoint which, as already stated, we can only accept in the case of a few Jewish Christians; for it would in reality be nothing less than going over to the Gentile Christians. Thus Gentile Christianity took the place of the mother Church, and Jewish Christianity was thrust out of Jerusalem. As a consequence of the last revolt even the name, Jewish country, was set

Μάρκος. And Sulpicius Severus (*Hist.* ii. 31) says of the time of the Jewish war under Hadrian: "Tum Hierosolymæ nonnisi ex circumcissione habebat ecclesia sacerdotem." But the author then goes on to say that Hadrian closed the newly-built city against the Jews, and continues: this "proficiebat christianæ fidei, qui tum pene omnes Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant. Nimirum id Domino ordinante dispositum, ut legis servitus a libertate fidei atque ecclesiæ tolleretur. Ita tum primum Marcus ex gentibus apud Hierosolymam episcopus fuit."

aside: the province was no longer called *Judea* as formerly, but Syria Palästina, Syria of the Philistines (as in Herodotus).¹ For this reason Schliemann (*Clementinen*, pp. 408, 474, etc.) has put forward the view that in the year 138, when the Christian inhabitants of Aelia Capitolina completely renounced the law and Judaism, the separation took place between the stricter and more tolerant Jewish Christians (according to former usage "Ebionites and Nazaræans"), and Ebionism became a sect. But neither the distinction between Nazaræans and Ebionites, nor an assertion that the latter were heretics, can be proved of the period in question. Gieseler, *Kirchengesch.* i. 1. 130, note 6, puts the origin of the division between the Nazaræans and Ebionites farther back, viz. at the beginning of the second century, after the death of Symeon (107), on the basis of a statement of Hegesippus in Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 32, comp. iv. 22), to the effect that the Church continued till the death of Symeon "a pure and undefiled virgin." But on comparing these two passages, we find that Hegesippus does not speak of *Judaistic* sects but of sects in general; and that he has the Gnostics in his mind above all. Hence we cannot attach any such value to the fragment from Hegesippus as to warrant us in putting with safety into so early a period the full appearance of the division between Nazaræans and Ebionites. As to the impossibility of going back still farther and identifying Ebionism with primitive Christianity, as Schwegler does, it is unnecessary, after our previous investigation, to say more. But however widely the three views just given differ as to the origin and age of Ebionism, they yet all

¹ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. v. p. 546.

agree in their recognition of the truth that Judaistic Christianity was in existence since there were Christians; and that the distinction of a harsher as opposed to a more tolerant tendency was present among Jewish Christians as early as the apostolic era (Baur, *Paulus*, 1st ed. p. 127, etc., 2nd ed. i. 145, etc.; Gieseler, p. 130; Schliemann, p. 405, etc.). The apostolic convention was undoubtedly the occasion on which this difference once appeared, thus forming the first problem in the development of Jewish Christianity. The destruction of Jerusalem, in accordance with our former decision, must be regarded as the second crisis; it led to an internal convulsion that shook Jewish Christianity to its very foundation, and by withdrawing its national basis robbed it of the moral power that it had had hitherto. The third knotty point is the establishment of an entirely Gentile Christian Church on the ruins of Jerusalem (p. 135), by which Jewish Christianity was also suppressed externally. The fourth and final step was the formal separation of the Ebionite and Nazarean parties. But since we cannot show by historical testimonies the definite point of time in which that step took place, we believe it must be assumed that the development and the separation of the two different tendencies in the Jewish Christianity of Palestine and the neighbouring lands, as well as the hardening of these tendencies into opposing parties, took place only gradually in the course of a longer time.

If we examine the authors of the second century for evidence on this point, we find that Justin Martyr was the first, in his dialogue with the Jew Tryphon (c. 47), composed about the middle of this century, to distinguish two kinds of Judaizing

Christians, viz. such as hold fast to the law themselves, without desiring to impose it on others or making it necessary to salvation; and, on the other hand, such as adopt the latter view, and regard as brethren those Christians only who also observe the law. We give the passage, on account of its historical importance, with its context. Tryphon asks, c. 46: "But if some, even now, wish to live in the observance of what is appointed by Moses, and believe in this Jesus the crucified One, while they acknowledge that He is the anointed of God (ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) and that it is given to Him to judge all men, and that the everlasting kingdom is His,—can these also be saved?"—Justin first of all proves that circumcision and ceremonial observances of this nature cannot possibly be absolutely indispensable conditions of salvation. The Jew, however, repeats his question, c. 47: "But if a man who knows this to be so, while recognising Him (Jesus) as Christ and believing and following Him, yet wishes also to observe this (the Mosaic ceremonial law), will he be saved?" to which Justin replies: ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, λέγω ὅτι σωθήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, λέγω δὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης περιτμηθέντας, ἐκ παντὸς πείθειν ἀγωνίζηται, ταῦτά αὐτῷ φυλάσσειν, λέγων οὐ σωθήσονται αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα φυλάξωσιν, etc. Tryphon then inquires more precisely: διὰ τί οὖν εἶπας ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, σωθήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος, εἰ μὴ τι εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι οὐ σωθήσονται οἱ τοιοῦτοι; and Justin explains in detail: Εἰσὶν—καὶ μηδὲ κοινωνεῖν ὁμιλίας ἢ ἐστίας τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τολμῶντες· οἷς ἐγὼ οὐ συναινός εἰμι. Ἄλλ' ἐὰν αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὰ ὅσα δύνανται νῦν

ἐκ τῶν Μωσέως—μετὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν ἐλπίζειν, καὶ τὰς αἰωνίους καὶ φύσει δικαιοπραξίας καὶ εὐσεβείας φυλάσσειν βούλωνται, καὶ αἰρῶνται συζῆν τοῖς χριστιανοῖς καὶ πιστοῖς, ὡς προεῖπον, μὴ πείθοντες αὐτοὺς μήτε περιτέμνεσθαι ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς, μήτε σαββατίζειν, etc., καὶ προσλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν ἀπάντων, ὡς ὁμοσπλάγχθοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς, δεῖν ἀποφαίνομαι ἐὰν δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ὑμετέρου πιστεύειν λέγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν —ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ τὸν διὰ Μωσέως διαταχθέντα νόμον ἀναγκάζωσι ζῆν τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν, ἢ μὴ κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης συνδιαγωγῆς αἰρῶνται, ὁμοίως καὶ τούτους οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι (ed. Otto, 1848, ii. p. 146, etc.).

The last expression : τούτους οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι, does not mean simply, I disapprove of these (Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, p. 21, note); neither does it mean: "I cannot regard these as on an equal footing with the more tolerant," as Dorner suggests (*Entwickelungsgesch.* i. 300, note); but in conformity with the context, the sense is, In like manner I refuse to recognise them, viz. as they refuse to recognise us (as Schliemann explains).

Here then mention is made of two extreme parties; *first*, of Judaizing Christians who regard the observance of the Mosaic law as absolutely necessary to salvation, and hold no fellowship with Christians of a different mind. At the opposite extreme stand, *secondly*, Gentile Christians who on principle entirely avoid all intercourse with Judaizing Christians that observe the law. Half-way between these two extremes are two other groups; *first*, Christians who, as Jews by birth, submit to circumcision and Mosaism themselves, but do not make them binding on Gentile

Christians, with whom they hold brotherly intercourse; *on the other hand*, Gentile Christians who on their side hold intercourse with Jewish Christians of the last-named kind. The former extreme Judaizing party, by refusing church-fellowship to Gentile Christians, shut themselves out from the collective Church, thus taking an isolated position as a sect.¹ Hence Justin affords an insight into the inner process of this degeneracy into a sect, while the fact that this fraction actually became a sect did not appear until afterwards.

It is much to be desired in the interest of history, that some works of the very same time at which Justin wrote, about the middle of the second century, had come down to us, proceeding directly from Judaizing circles, and opening up a glance into them. Such are the writings commonly classed under the general title of *pseudo-Clementine literature*. These are the *Recognitiones Clementis*, libri x., which have been preserved only in the Latin translation of Rufinus; again, the *Homilies* of Clement (*τὰ Κλημέντια*), which we possess in the Greek original, and since 1853 in a complete form; finally, the *Epitome*, which is only an abridgment of the Homilies. As the Homilies in any case present the more doctrinally developed and historically important form of the other treatises which are essentially similar, we lay them at the basis of the following examination.²

¹ The copious and intrinsically clear exposition of Justin, has a still greater range than Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums*, 1884, p. 21, etc. note, admits.

² To Baur belongs the merit of having turned the attention of the inquirer to the Clementines as the source of Church history and dogma; he first investigated the subject in the programme 1831, *De Ebionitarum origine et doctrina*, then in the *Tübingen Zeitschrift für Theol.* 1831, 4: "Die Christuspartei in der Kor. Gemeinde,"

The Homilies, as Semisch (*Die Apost. Denkwürdigkeiten des M. Justin*, 1848, p. 358) correctly puts it, form a "tendenz-romance," which professes to be authentic history, whereas it transfers the peculiar views of the author and his party back to the apostolic period, and unfolds them in the discourses of Peter. To the Homilies a threefold preface is prefixed in the form of three original documents, viz. (a) a letter from Peter to James enjoining secrecy as to the κηρύγματα Πέτρου that had been sent to him; (b) the διαμαρτυρία of James to the elders at Jerusalem respecting the mode in which the κηρύγματα Πέτρου were to be confided to the initiated under the seal of secrecy; (c) an accompanying letter of Clement to James, in which he informs him that Peter, before his death, had chosen, prepared, and consecrated him,

as well as in his *Christlichen Gnosis*, 1835, and in later treatises; comp. on the literature, Uhlhorn, *Homilien und Recognitionen*, 1854, p. 12, etc. Schliemann, *Die Clementinen, nebst den verwandten Schriften, und der Ebionitismus*, 1844, is at fault in refusing to acknowledge the epoch-making character of Baur's investigations. But Baur, as may readily be understood, over-estimates the importance of his source, newly discovered by him so to speak, or at least made subservient for the first time to Church history; inasmuch as he treats it as the richest and all-enlightening primitive document of the Church and of ecclesiastical consciousness at that time, whereas it is at the most a product and expression of an isolated party or fraction, to some extent even an entirely individual work of the heretical author. The relation of the Recognitiones and the Homilies to one another was understood by Baur, Schliemann, and others to be, that the Homilies were the original; the Recognitiones a later revision of the Homilies composed at the beginning of the third century. In opposition to this view Hilgenfeld has endeavoured to make the inverse relation probable, *Die Clement. Recognitionen und Homilien, nach ihrem Ursprung und Inhalt dargestellt*, 1848; and Ritschl, *Entstehung*, 2nd ed. p. 205, etc., agrees in the main. According to this view, the Recognitiones were composed about the year 140 with a polemic object against the Valentinian

Clement, to be his successor in the Roman episcopate ; but had specially charged him to give James a summary account of his (Peter's) discourses and acts, of which Clement had in several places been a witness. Clement gives the history of his own life and conversion in the Homilies themselves. He tells how, driven to the East by ardent thirst of the truth that was not appeased in the schools of philosophy, he became acquainted at Alexandria with Barnabas who was preaching in that city, and was instructed by him ; and again, how, having followed Barnabas to Judea, he had met with Peter in Cæsarea, who had initiated him into the truth ; hence he attends the public disputation with Simon Magus held by Peter in that place, and accompanies the apostle, who pursues the retreating sorcerer from Cæsarea through Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, Tripolis, Antioch, etc., in order to oppose him

Gnosis, being therefore older and more original ; the Homilies, on the contrary, were elaborated partly on the basis of the Recognitions, against Marcion, about 160 ; and a still older original, the *κηρύγματα Πέτρου*, written perhaps about 120, with reference to Basilides, served as the basis of the other two. We expressed doubts, even in our second edition, as to whether the attempt of Uhlhorn, *Die Homilien und Recognitionen des Clemens Rom.* 1854, to prove the Recognitions to be a revision of the Homilies, was successful. In the meantime, he himself, in consequence of later investigations, particularly those of Lehmann, *Die Clementinischen Schriften*, 1869, and Lipsius, *Die Quellen der Römischen Petrussage*, 1872, has retracted his view ; see *Real-Encyclopädie*, 2nd ed. vol. iii. 208, etc. Even now the point is by no means clear. The following remarks, however, appear to come near the truth. An older work lies at the basis both of the Homilies and Recognitions, bearing the title, *Kerygmen des Petrus*. To this document sometimes the Homilies, sometimes the Recognitions correspond more faithfully ; its historical contents are more correctly seen from the Recognitions, its doctrinal contents from the Homilies. Hausrath in his *N. T. Zeitgeschichte*, iv. 2nd ed. 1877, pp. 133-145, in his fanciful examination develops the way in which the gradual origination of the Recognitions and Clementines is to be conceived.

and his errors. That anti-Jewish gnosis, especially that of Marcion, is presented and combated in Simon Magus, is universally acknowledged since the disquisition of Baur. Uhlhorn's conjecture, p. 290, etc., that the actual doctrines of the Simonians, a Gnostic sect of this name, are attributed to Simon in the Homilies, which has much in its favour, is quite consistent with the above fact. On the other hand, it is a matter of dispute whether the aim of the author is to make Simon Magus represent Paul also, as Baur, followed by Schliemann, Schwegler, Ritschl (*Entstehung*, p. 228), and Uhlhorn, *ante*, maintains. Niedner takes the negative view. He observes (*Kirchengeschichte*, p. 242, note), with reference to Hom. xvii. 19, that Paul as a matter of fact gained the assent of James, but did not make the essence of the revelation he had received consist in visions; while the common usage of the word *κατεγνωσμένος* gives no foundation for referring the above passage to Gal. ii. 14. But after careful examination of the seventeenth homily we cannot help coming to the conclusion that the passage in question contains an intentional and unmistakable allusion to the story of the conversion of Paul as well as to the scene at Antioch, Gal. ii. 11, etc.¹ This polemic against Paul is quite in the spirit of the work in question, for in

¹ This is the more palpable since in Hom. xvii. 19 not merely is *κατεγνωσμένος* used twice, with an unmistakable purpose, but also (a thing that Niedner seems to have overlooked) the *ἀντίστην* from Gal. ii. 11 again recurs: *ἰναντίος ἀντίστηκᾶς μοι—ὡς ἰμοῦ καταγνωσθέντος καὶ ἰμοῦ εὐδοκιμοῦντος*. The last words are incorrectly translated by Dressel: *quamvis laudari debeam*, whereas they undoubtedly mean, "and as if I were pleased with that." De Lagarde's conjecture, *Clementina*, p. 168: *ἰμοῦ ἀδελκίμου ὄντος*, instead of *εὐδοκιμοῦντος*, we hold to be neither necessary nor happy, since it leads to tautology.

the interest of its opposition Peter is made responsible for all Pauline actions; Clement himself is estranged from Paul and converted by Peter; Paul is set aside (see Dorner, *Entwick. Gesch. der Lehre von der Person Christi*, i. p. 340, etc., note). The book contains much that is quite in the spirit of the ecclesiastical writers of that time, especially in its practical part, e.g. Hom. iii. 61, etc. Though as a rule it adheres as closely as possible to what is customary and recognised in the Church, especially in the use of the canonical Gospels;¹ yet the Judaizing spirit appears unmistakeably, though notably mixed with heathen Gnostic

¹ Credner in his *Beiträgen zur Einleitung in die bibl. Schriften*, i. 282, etc., 330, etc., has indeed tried to show in detail that the gospel quotations of the Homilies point as a rule to the Hebrew Gospel, a result that Schwegler, *ante*, i. 207, takes for proved. But an impartial perusal of the Homilies gives, on the contrary, the general impression that our *canonical* Gospels lie rather at the foundation of the quotations, and have certainly been used with more or less freedom. This impression has been scientifically established and proved by Frank, "Die evang. Citate in den clement. Homil." (*Studien der Württemb. Geistlichkeit*, 1847, ii. 144, etc.), and Semisch, *Apostol. Denkwürdigkeiten Justin's*, p. 356, etc.; in both cases as the result of independent research. Frank, by collecting all the Gospel quotations and examining each one separately, has shown that most of them may be traced back to Matthew, several to Luke either alone or in connection with Matthew, and a few to the Gospel of John, the reproduction in most cases being free and occasionally arbitrary; while those citations that have no parallel in our Gospels are doubtless composed partly in a free way from other passages, and partly ascribed to Jesus directly. In the conclusion of the whole work, found by Dressel in the Vatican Library, it is shown that the author of the Homilies both knew and used the Gospel of Mark and that of John. Even Hilgenfeld, who in the year 1852 (*Krit. Untersuchung über die Evang. Justin's, der clem. Hom. und Marcion's*, p. 388) declared, in the most positive way, that "the Gospel of John had in no case been made use of," now freely acknowledges, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1855, p. 534, note 1, that by Homily xix. 22 a knowledge of the Gospel of John on the part of the Homilies is put beyond all doubt. We remark in

speculation. The idea of God which insists upon abstract unity (*μοναρχικὴ θρησκεία*), is *Judaizing*, and directly contradicts the deity of Christ,¹ whilst the theory of the creation and formation of the world is cast in a heathen mould by virtue of its emanationist and dualistic character (*συζυγίαι*). The legality of the Clementine doctrine is undoubtedly Judaistic, since Peter characterizes his *κήρυγμα* itself as *νόμιμον* in the Epistle to James which is put at the beginning of the treatise, in opposition to the *ἄνομος* — *διδασκαλία τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου* (p. 3, line 24, etc., ed. de Lagarde); just as in Hom. viii. 6 the

conclusion that the words *γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι*, put into the mouth of Jesus by Hom. ii. 51, iii. 50, xviii. 20,—which we should willingly regard as oral tradition, preserved by the Hebrew Gospel,—if compared with Hom. iii. 64, may be easily explained from a combination of Matt. xxv. 27 with Luke xix. 23. This conjecture of ours is contested by Uhlhorn, *ante*, p. 134, note 54, on the ground that the saying is too widely spread. But in Anger's valuable *Synopsis*, 1852, p. 274, it has been shown that this sentence, though it appears frequently in Christian antiquity, is first quoted among ecclesiastical writers by Clemens Alex. (in connection with 1 Thess. v. 21), if we except the Homilies and the Marcionite Apelles, and after him by Origen, subsequently by men of the fourth and fifth centuries. From this it follows that the sentence, once having been appropriated by an ecclesiastical writer such as Clemens Alex., might be regarded as genuine and become current. In favour of our view we appeal also (1) to the custom of pseudo-Clement, pointed out by Uhlhorn himself, p. 128, etc., of combining two biblical passages "mixings of texts;" (2) to the circumstance that the unknown author formally aims at the concealment of his use of written sources, and in the interest of his fiction tries to give his Peter the appearance of having directly heard the words of Jesus; see Uhlhorn, p. 131.

¹ *Clementina*, xvi. 12 (ed. de Lagarde, 1865, p. 155): Εἴς ἐστιν ὁ τῆ αὐτοῦ σοφία εἰπὼν "ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον."—"Ἦνωται μὲν (ἡ σοφία) ὡς ψυχὴ τῶ θεῷ· ἐκτείνεται δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς χεὶρ δημιουργοῦσα τὸ πᾶν; xvi. 15: 'Ο κύριος ἡμῶν οὔτε θεοὺς εἶναι ἐφθέγγαστο παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα, οὔτε ἑαυτὸν θεὸν εἶναι ἀνηγόρευσεν, υἱὸν δὲ θεοῦ—τὸν εἰπόντα αὐτὸν εὐλόγως ἱμακάρισεν (in allusion to Matt. xvi. 16, etc.).

doctrine of the apostle is not only identified with that of Jesus, but also with that of Moses. But inasmuch as a distinction is made within Mosaism and the old covenant between truth and error, between that which is *for God* and that which is *against God*, between masculine, *i.e.* true, and feminine, *i.e.* false prophecy, between that which is genuine and that which is spurious, and inasmuch as it is taught that the pure law of God which was given by Moses and meant to be orally handed down, was afterwards falsified by being put into writing, therefore the Gnostic, namely the Marcionite fundamental view, is indirectly admitted.

The conception of the person of Jesus and His work is Judaistic, as well as that of the relation of Christianity to Mosaism, inasmuch as the deity of Jesus is disputed; on the other hand, it is asserted that Jesus can only be called God in the same sense as all the souls of men (Hom. xvi. 26). According to the author, the work of Jesus consists solely in the prophetic and kingly office; the atonement and death of Jesus are not at all spoken of in a didactic way. Jesus as the true Prophet has taught men to know the *one* God, the Just and Good; but in so doing He has only made that truth accessible to all which had from the very beginning been delivered in secret to those who were worthy of it, even to the heathen themselves (Hom. iii. 19). Niedner briefly formulates the view of the Homilies in this direction as follows (*Kirchengeschichte*, p. 246): "Christianity is only a restoration of the primitive religion in time, and an enlargement of it in space." But when the Homilies ascribe the ἅγιον Χριστοῦ πνεῦμα to Adam, and teach that the Holy Spirit, changing name and form, goes

through the epochs, and in the form of individual men (Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus) as prophets of the truth, constantly announces *one* and the same truth (Hom. iii. 20), so that it is the same whether Jesus or Moses be taken as teacher, for he that follows either of the two is acceptable to God (Hom. viii. 6);—the person of Jesus is by this means robbed of its high, unique dignity, and the peculiar character of Christianity is destroyed.

The practical substance of the Clementine doctrine is the recognition and worship of the *one* God; this is the first and greatest command of Jesus (Hom. xvii. 7). If the heathen follow the law, he is a Jew; if not, then he is a heathen (Hom. xi. 16). This is doubtless Judaistic. The opposition to the Apostle Paul under the name of Simon Magus, which, though veiled, is still violent and radical, betrays the same Judaistic character. But, on the other hand, the Homilies nowhere mention *circumcision*, which is equivalent to a silent abandonment of this Mosaic and Ebionite fundamental requirement, although it is demanded in the *διαμαρτυρία* of James (p. 4, line 22, etc., ed. de Lagarde) that he to whom the books are entrusted should be “circumcised and believing” (*ἐνπερίτομος—πιστός*). When therefore the Homilies set forth circumcision as a condition of esoteric dedication, but do not impose it on all believers as an indispensable condition of salvation, only requiring in addition to the moral commandments, abstinence from flesh offered to idols, blood and things strangled (Hom. vii. 4; Recog. iv. 36; comp. Acts xv. 20, 29), together with washings and purifications, their origin cannot be assigned to that class of Jewish Christians described by Justin as the strictest, but must belong

to the more tolerant, who adhered to social and Church communion with the Gentile Christians. The latter conclusion appears to follow as a matter of necessity. But we must at the same time admit that the want of reverence for the Old Testament which appears in the distinction made between godly and ungodly elements within it, as well as the mixture of heathen Gnostic speculation, throw the Homilies into the shade compared with the pure Jewish Christian standpoint. Moreover, although the author endeavours to give an apostolic sanction to his doctrine, the speculative or Gnostic feature of the doctrine, together with the affectation of secrecy in the communication of it, is opposed to the assumption that the tendency of the Homilies "was predominant in the faith of the majority of that period," as Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeit.* i. 405, asserts. On the contrary, the Homilies, as Dorner has well observed, have the "evil conscience of an isolated heretical party stamped on their forehead" (*Lehre von der Person Christi*, i. 340, etc., note 190). Ritschl also, 2nd ed. p. 259, remarks that the Homilies, far from expressing the view of the ecclesiastical majority of their day, were rather composed in circumstances unfavourable to the party they represented, since their possession of a majority is quite inconceivable, although the party was not yet separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, as heretical.

About the time when in all probability the Clementines were composed, viz. about the year 160, a man from the East, whose evidence respecting the Church of his time is important, took up his abode in Rome,—Hegesippus, from whose *ὑπομνήματα* or Memorabilia we have already taken the description of

James in p. 59, etc. He is generally, as a matter of course, reckoned amongst Jewish Christians, because Eusebius relates¹ that he was a Hebrew by birth, ἐξ ἑβραίων αὐτὸν πεπιστευκέναι. Ritschl, however (*ante*, 2nd ed. p. 267), draws attention to the fact that from the way in which Eusebius handles the subject, the Hebrew descent can only be an inference drawn by the Church historian from certain Hebrew and Syriac phrases incidentally scattered among the ὑπομνήματα of his predecessor, as well as from certain accounts that may have had their source in Jewish Christian oral tradition. Hence the common assumption of the Jewish descent of Hegesippus has no purely objective foundation but rests on a mere inference and conjecture of Eusebius, and may possibly be quite erroneous. Nevertheless we adhere to the traditional view that Hegesippus was by birth a Jew and a native of Palestine, on the ground that the facts from which Eusebius drew this conclusion justify us in so doing. We have at least one example of attachment to specific Jewish Christian tradition (ἰουδαϊκῆ ἄγραφος παράδοσις) in the character given of James the Just, which has been analysed above, p. 59, etc. But whether Hegesippus was not merely a Jewish Christian by descent but had actually a leaning to Judaism or Ebionism, is quite another question. An attempt has been made to prove the latter from a fragment of the fifth book of the ὑπομνήματα of Hegesippus, preserved by the Monophysite Stephen Gobar in the *Bibliotheca of Photius*,

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 22. 2: 'Ἐκ τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίου εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς ἑβραϊδὸς διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν ἰμφοαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἑαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι' καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀγράφου παραδόσεως μνημονεύει.

Cod. 232, where he speaks of people who say "that the blessing prepared for the just, no eye hath seen, no ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man." The judgment of Hegesippus on this point is to the effect: *μάτην μὲν εἰρῆσθαι ταῦτα καὶ καταψεύδεσθαι τοὺς ταῦτα φημένους τῶν τε θείων γραφῶν καὶ τοῦ κυρίου λόγοντος· μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑμῶν οἱ βλέποντες, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν τὰ ἀκούοντα, καὶ ἐξῆς.*¹ Baur (*Theolog. Jahrb.* 1848, p. 571) and Schwegler (*Montanismus*, p. 276) refer this polemic to the Apostle Paul, thus making the author apply the terms lying and foolish to the statement of the apostle in 1 Cor. ii. 9. If this were so, the ultra-Ebionite spirit of the man would indeed be fully proved. But we must not overlook the circumstance that Paul himself here borrows a prophetic announcement from Isa. lxiv. 4, for which reason it is impossible, if we take into account the well-known reverence of Hegesippus for the Old Testament, to believe that he would have called the words themselves a lie against the divine Scripture and the Lord, a vain and senseless speech; it is much more probable that he only referred to a certain *application* of the words. Grabe is surely right (*Spicilegium Patrum*, see Routh, *ante*, p. 253) in his opinion when he supposes: *Hegesippi ὑπομνήματα* si superessent, videremus forte, eum non ipsa illa verba rejecisse, sed falsam eorum *interpretationem* ab hæreticis factam, etc.²

¹ Compare the passage in Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, i. 203, together with the *Annotationes*, 223, etc. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Migne, *Patrol. graeca*, tom. 103, p. 1096.

² Formerly the expression was only known to occur in the apocryphal "Revelation of Elias" (see Schliemann, *Clement.* p. 429, etc.). But now we know from the anti-heretical work of Hippolytus that it was in current use among Gnostics, e.g. Justinus, v. 24, 26, 27,

Special stress is justly laid on what Hegesippus concisely states in a fragment of his "Memorabilia" preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 22. 3) as the result of his travels, undertaken in the years 150-160. to different Churches as far as Rome, among which he gives particular prominence to that at Corinth: ἐ ἐκάστη διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς νόμος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ προφήται καὶ ὁ κύριος. Baur (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1844, p. 571 ; 1845, p. 267 ; *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed. p. 84 ; comp. Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeit.* i. p. 354, etc.) concludes from the prominence he gives to law and the prophets, from his attaching equal value to the Old and New Testament and from his not mentioning the apostles, that Hegesippus followed the Ebionite, harsh Judaistic tendency, and that in the greater part of the Church at that time, particularly in the Corinthian community, the Jewish Christian or Petrine party had acquired decided superiority over the Pauline, else the Ebionite-minded man would not have been so well satisfied with the result of his travels. But this reasoning overlooks the fact that at that time, before the canon of the New Testament existed, the Old Testament was esteemed the fundamental document of religious truth throughout all Christendom, just as

pp. 216, 222, 230, ed. Duncker, and in Valentine, vi. 24, p. 262, ed. Duncker, to denote the superabundance of *their* alleged mysteries and revelations. The appeal of Hegesippus, by way of refutation, to Matt. xiii. 16 is in surprising agreement with this. It shows that the people whom he attacks mistook the dignity and unique character of the revelation in Christ, perverting those words of Scripture. But there is no trace here of an anti-Pauline direction. With this acceptance agree independently Ritschl, *Entsteh. der altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 267, etc., and Weizsäcker, art. "Hegesippus," in the *Theol. Real-Encykl.* 2nd ed. vol. v. 1879, p. 698.

the Apostle Paul himself regarded it. "The law, the prophets, and the Lord" were the authorities of the whole Church at that time, and not the authorities of a *party*. Hence Hegesippus is not a witness for the prevalence of the Judaizing tendency, but rather for the growing unity of the Catholic Church, from which the Judaistic parties, as sects, were soon excluded.¹

Twenty years after this period the Ebionites appear in Irenæus as well as his contemporary Tertullian, as a party outside the Church, a sect.² The Ebionites, first mentioned under this name by Irenæus, are represented by him as standing outside the Church in exactly the same way as the various Gnostic sects; nor does he give the slightest hint as to fluctuation of public opinion respecting them, or any difference

¹ Comp. Ritschl, *ante*, 2nd ed. p. 268; Dorner, *ante*, i. 219, etc.; Weizsäcker, *Real-Encykl.* 2nd ed. v. p. 699.

² Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, i. 26. 2 (ed. Stieren): "Qui autem dicuntur *Ebionæi*, consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum; ea autem, quæ sunt erga Dominum, non similiter,"—(Cotelier and Grabe already perceived that *non* could not here be genuine, although it is found in every manuscript; and Stieren in his edition, 1853, i. 254, note 3, concurs in their view. Recently all doubt has been removed by the corresponding passage of Hippolytus, vii. 34, which follows Irenæus exactly (see p. 406, ed. Duncker); it runs thus: τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοίως τῶν Κηρίθου καὶ Καρποκράτους μυθεύουσιν),—"ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur. Solo autem eo, quod est secundum Matthæum, Evangelio utuntur et Apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes. Quæ autem sunt prophetica, curiosius exponere nituntur; et circumciduntur, ac perseverant in his consuetudinibus, quæ sunt secundum legem, et judaico characterem vitæ, uti et Hierosolymam adorent, quasi domus sit Dei. iii. 15. 1: Eadem autem dicimus iterum et his, qui Paulum Apostolum non cognoscunt etc. Qui igitur non recipiunt eum, qui sit electus a Deo ad hoc, ut fiducialiter portet nomen ejus, quod sit missus ad quas prædiximus gentes, electionem Domini contemnunt et se ipsos segregant ab Apostolorum conventu."

of view such as still existed in Justin's time. Hence in the view of this Church-Father, which was notably not a limited one, the exclusion of those Jewish Christians who adhered to circumcision and the observance of the law seems to have been the fixed rule, although the wording of the second passage, *seipsos segregant*, leads us to suppose that the Ebionites withdrew of themselves, and were not thrust out from the Church. But since Irenæus wrote his five books against heresies between the years 176–190, it may be reasonably assumed that the separation of the Ebionites from the Christian Church or old Catholic Christendom, took place twenty years at least before the close of the second century. And as this cannot have occurred all at once, nor in every place simultaneously, it may have happened in many countries still earlier.¹ It is noteworthy, however, that Irenæus makes no distinction whatever, as between a milder and stricter class among the Judaizing Christians whom he calls Ebionites; in particular that he neither expressly names nor hints at the Nazaræans, who were afterwards distinct from the Ebionites. Hence we must assume either that the Nazaræans had not yet at that time made themselves noticeable as a peculiar party in opposition to the stricter, the Ebionites properly so called; or else that both parties had been already separated from the Church. The use of the Gospel of Matthew, the practice of circumcision, and the observance of the law—all this may still be referred to the milder Jewish Christians, but the rejection of the Apostle Paul as an apostate from the law, attested by Irenæus in the passages already quoted, points directly to the extremest Jewish tendency.

¹ Ritschl, *ante*, 2nd ed. p. 248, etc.

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the account of Irenæus is exceedingly scanty; probably he was without more accurate knowledge respecting the Jewish part of Christendom. If we could suppose that he was fully informed, we should be led to conclude that the exclusive party of the Gentile Christian majority, who according to Justin's testimony were inclined to break off intercourse with those Jewish Christians who observed the law, so early as the middle of the century, had already prevailed over the more tolerant view of a Justin and others similarly-minded; and that the milder Jewish Christians who showed more tolerance to the Gentile Christians, were in conformity with party usage identified with the strictest Ebionites, both together being rejected as an unchristian sect.

Hippolytus, the newly-discovered source for the history of the heretics in the first thirty years of the third century, is in essential agreement with Irenæus. Both make slight mention of the Ebionites in connection with the detailed refutation of the Gnostics. Hippolytus, like his predecessor, treats exclusively of the Ebionites, without making any distinction between the milder and stricter parties. But Hippolytus differs from Irenæus in giving prominence to the teachings of the "Ebionites" respecting the Mosaic law and justification by the law, while this characteristic part of their doctrine is put in the background by the Gallic Church-Father.¹

¹ *Philosophumena*, vii. 34, ed. Duncker, p. 406, etc.: "Ἐβραίων Ἰουδαϊκοῖς ζῶσι, κατὰ νόμον φάσκοντες δικαιούσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες διδικαιῶσθαι ποιήσαντα τὸν νόμον" — — Δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἰμοῖως ποιήσαντας, Χριστοῦς γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοῖως ἀνθρώπων εἶναι πᾶσι λέγουσιν.

It is noteworthy that Origen, who belongs to the same period († 254), employs the name Ebionite, which he also uses of the Jewish Christians outside the Church, to denote the Jewish Christianity of the primitive period. The second of the eight books against Celsus refutes the attacks which Celsus had made upon the Jewish Christians. To the objection that the Christians had forsaken the *πάτριος νόμος*, Origen replies by referring his opponent to the fact that both the apostles themselves and the Ebionites had been in the beginning true adherents of the Mosaic law. In his statement, *Contra Cels.* ii. 1: *Ἐβιωναῖοι χρηματίζουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὡς Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι*, the name appears to have been freely used as a designation of the nationality of the first Christians = Jewish Christians. On the other hand, at the end of the fifth book against Celsus, Origen speaks of the Ebionites of his own time as if they were a sect outside the Church, and also in a way implying the distinction of two classes, a thing which we *never* find before him, but always after him. That is to say, he speaks (v. c. 65) of *Ἐβιωναῖοι ἀμφότεροι*, and makes the distinction between them to consist in their view of the person of Christ, the one admitting, the other denying His supernatural birth from a virgin (chap. lxi.): *οἱ διττοὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι, ἥτοι ἐκ παρθένου ὁμολογοῦντες ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἢ οὐχ οὕτω γεγεννησθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους*. When Schliemann (*Clementinen*, 493) identifies these two classes in Origen with *his* own twofold Ebionites, "the Gnostic and vulgar," he puts *his* distinction into the clear classification of Origen, and besides overlooks the fact that the Gnostic Ebionites could not have adopted the theory of super-

natural birth from a virgin, as he himself proved in page 207; comp. Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 131, note 8; Uhlhorn, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 2nd ed. iv. 16, art. "Ebioniten."

Like Origen, Eusebius¹ about a hundred years later distinguishes two kinds of Ebionites, the difference between whom is not put as it is in Justin in the tendency to exclude Gentile Christians more or less, but only in the view taken of Christ's person, whether lower or higher; which comes very near the distinction first made by Origen. In this description one cannot fail to see how much belongs to Irenæus and Origen, whom Eusebius seems to have used, having no other sources of information. The circumstance is also noteworthy that Eusebius speaks of that sect not as if it were a party belonging to his own time, but as a phenomenon which had already gone into history, since he speaks of the past in a narrative way: ἡγοῦντο—διεδιδρασκον—περιετρέποντο—ἐσπούδαζον—παρεφύλαττον—ἐπετέλουν. Gieseler identifies

¹ *K. Gesch.* iii. 27, where, speaking of the end of the apostolic age and of the Gnostic sects which appeared at that time, he is led to say of the Ebionites: Ἐβιοναίους τούτους οἰκείως ἐπιφήμεζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας.—δεῖν δὲ πάντως αὐτοῖς τῆς νομικῆς θρησκείας, ὡς μὴ ἂν διὰ μόνης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν βίου σωθησόμενοι. Ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τούτους τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες προσηγορίας, τὴν μὲν τῶν εἰρημίων ἔκτισον διεδιδρασκον ἀποτίαν, ἐκ σαρκίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνούμενοι γεγονέναι τὸν Κύριον· οὐ μὲν ἔθ' ὁμοίως προὔπαρχειν αὐτὸν, Θεὸν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν ἰμελογοῦντες, τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιετρέποντο δυσσεβεῖα· μάλιστα ὅτε καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν περὶ τὸν νόμον λατρείαν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις περιέτειν ἐστουδαζον. οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀποστόλου πάσας τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀρνητίας ἡγοῦντο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποστάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τῷ νόμῳ, εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι, τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποιοῦντο λόγον· Καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἄλλην ἀγωγὴν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις παρεφύλαττον, ταῖς δ' αὖ κυριακαῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῖν τὰ παραπλήσια εἰς μνήμην τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπέτελουν.

Eusebius' two classes of Ebionites with "the Ebionites and Nazaræans" (i. 131, note 8). But if the Nazaræans of later writers acknowledged Paul as the Apostle of the Gentiles, and stood nearer the Church than the Ebionites, those whom Eusebius adduces as in the second rank and as less extravagant, cannot possibly be identical with those Nazaræans who even rejected Paul as a renegade.

Towards the end of the fourth century we first meet with the name Nazaræans in Jerome and Augustine, as well as Theodoret and Epiphanius (Schliemann, p. 450, etc.); but it is worthy of note that Epiphanius alone looks on them as heretics, while the other Church-Fathers always seem to regard them as good, orthodox Christians. According to Epiphanius (*Hæc.* 29), Nazaræans were to be found especially in Beroëa, Syria, Coelesyria, in Decapolis, about Pella, in Kokab, and in the land of Bashan, where they lived among the Jews, quite apart from the Gentile Christian communities. Augustine certifies that their number in his day was very small. Their peculiarity consisted in constant observance of the law, *i.e.* of Mosaism to the exclusion of Rabbinical-Pharisaic precepts which they withstood; for far from wishing to impose the Mosaic law on the Gentile Christians, they joyfully accepted Paul as the Apostle of the Gentiles. According to the description of Jerome, they mourned for their unbelieving brethren, and looked forward with longing to the time when they would turn to the Lord; which proves that the Israelite feeling and hope for their nation was warm and lively in them.

In the fourth century the *Ebionites* appear to have been more numerous than the Nazaræans. According to Epiphanius (*Hæc.* 30), they were found not only

in Palestine and the neighbouring lands, Peræa, Nabathæa, Moab, Batanæa; but also in Cyprus, in Asia Minor, and in Rome itself. Yet they did not continue long, for even in the time of Theodoret who died A.D. 457, they had disappeared. Their peculiarity consisted, as we have said, in their attributing permanent validity to the law of Moses, regarding the observance of it as necessary to salvation not merely for themselves but absolutely for *all* Christians. Origen in his *Commentary on Matthew* specially attests that they made it a matter of reproach against the Catholic Christians, that the latter did not observe the ordinances respecting clean and unclean meats. With respect to the person of Christ, they held that He was not born of a virgin, but was begotten like other men. In the nature of things belief in Christ, as the only ground of salvation, could not consist with the expectation of blessedness through the law. They regarded the Apostle Paul as an apostate from the law, and brought against him all manner of calumnies.—The fact that in the course of the second century a party of the Ebionites attempted to make a scientific defence of their views, and to spread them by writing, even seeking to make them acceptable to their contemporaries by the admixture of Gnostic ideas, may be explained in two ways: first, by assuming that the Ebionites originally proceeded from the Essenes, to whom they were indebted for those fundamental principles of Gnosticism which they afterwards developed more fully. This view, first promulgated by Credner, and then appropriated by Baur, Gieseler, and Ritschl, finds no adequate support in those words of Epiphanius on which the alleged connection between Ebionites and Essenes is made to

rest ; moreover, the Gnostic elements attributed to the influence of the Essenes cannot be certainly proved (see Schliemann, p. 525, etc.). The other explanation is therefore more probable, viz. that the Gnostic development of Ebionite doctrine was a fruit of the Gnostic period. In other words, we may assume that in the period which gave birth to the Gnostic systems even Jewish Christians went with the times to some extent, mainly with the view of employing the weapons of Gnosis to defeat the Gentile Christian tendency which had extended far and wide through the Gnostic systems of a Marcion and others. During the fifty years that followed the destruction of Jerusalem, Gnostic ideas found their way into *Judaism* itself, so that a certain Elisa Ben Abuja adopted the Gnostic fundamental principle of a dualism in the Deity, and became a despiser of the law, for which reason he received the name אִלְיָא as an apostate, as if by the adoption of a strange principle he had become another. This and similar experiences were the occasion that gave rise to the decrees of the synagogue against the teaching of the Gnostics (Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iv. 99, etc., 111, etc.). How much more readily would the charm of these theosophic ideas of the time attract such Jewish Christians as were of a susceptible nature, in whose minds, moreover, a spiritual fermentation had been produced by the union of truth in Christ with Old Testament ideas and ordinances, especially when by their residence in East Jordan, Syria, etc., they had likewise come into close contact with heathen systems of religion, with Parsee dualism for example ! Thus in the sect of the Elcesäites, on which new light is thrown by the *Philosophumena*, there is undoubtedly

a strange mixture of Jewish Christianity and Gnostic theosophy. Even the view that the Clementine Homilies contain a further development of the Elcesäite religious system, which has been put forward, is not without weighty grounds.¹

The gradual disappearance of the Ebionite Jewish Christians must be explained in accordance with existing indications, by the circumstance that they returned by degrees to complete Judaism. The inner character of the sect is thus revealed, inasmuch as Christianity was for them only a continuation and completion of Judaism; the latter being the centre and the chief thing. If Christianity itself had for them passed into Judaism, we can only find the world's judgment, which according to poetry is the world's history, in other words the logic of the matter, in the fact that they themselves were finally absorbed in Judaism.²

Whilst we are able to define pretty accurately the period in which the Ebionites melted away by degrees as a Christian sect, viz. the first half of the fifth century, it is very remarkable that we are unable to say at what time the Nazareans disappeared. Epiphanius, before the year 400, was the first who put them into the category of heretics; whereas Jerome

¹ Ritschl, "Ueber die Sekte der Elkesaiten," *Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.* 1853, p. 573, etc.; but especially Uhlhorn, *Homil. und Recogn.* p. 392, etc.

² This seems to have been already an accomplished fact when the *Apostolic Constitutions* took their present form, for in them the Ebionites are plainly regarded as a Jewish sect, no longer as Christian heretics, vi. 6, ed. Ueltzen: Εἶχε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Ἰουδαϊκὸς ὄχλος αἵρέσεις κακίας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ σαδδουκαῖοι ἐξ αὐτῶν — — καὶ φαρισαῖοι — — καὶ οἱ ἐφ' ἡμῶν νῦν φανέντες ἰβιωναῖοι, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπου εἶναι βουλόμενοι, etc.

somewhat later gives a very appreciative sketch of them. The case stands thus: they dwelt apart in isolated districts of the East, not as a sect outside the Church but as a part of the Church itself, having disappeared from the horizon of the Fathers and historians. Only in this way was it possible that in recent times a Jewish Christian national Church should be rediscovered like a lost world; we refer to the *Nestorian Christians* in the Kurd mountains, who were visited in 1839 by missionaries of the North American Independents, and were described by the medical missionary Dr. Grant (*The Nestorians, or the Ten Tribes*, a work which was translated into German by Preiswerk, Basel 1843). These Nestorians are said to be descendants of the people of Israel. The tradition current among them, that their ancestors in olden time came from Palestine to their present country, and that they were "Beni Israël;" the testimony of the Jews that dwell among them, who, notwithstanding their antipathy to them as "apostate brethren," yet confess that they, like themselves, are descended from the house of Israel; the new-Syrian language, common to the Jews and Nestorians in Assyria, and distinct from the dialects of all the neighbouring peoples; the strikingly Semitic features and almost universal Old Testament names of the Nestorians, associated with genuine Israelite institutions and customs of civil and domestic life,—all these facts are put forward by Grant as evidence that the Nestorians of the Assyrian upland are by descent true Jewish Christians; while his conjecture that they are nothing but descendants of the ten tribes, dating from the time of the Assyrian exile, cannot be regarded as sufficiently proved.

This Christian people, therefore, whose Semitic origin can hardly be doubted, possesses religious peculiarities which fully answer to the fact of their descent, and are calculated to throw welcome light on the state of Jewish Christian Churches of the first centuries. Circumcision does not exist among them; in their view it is superseded by baptism; they do not observe the Sabbath, but keep Sunday instead, most conscientiously, however. These facts can only be explained on the assumption of Gentile Christian influence. In other respects they possess remarkable remnants of Jewish Christian traditions, viz. in their worship, in the celebrating of Sunday and feast-days, and in certain Levitical customs to which they adhere. We may mention, for example, their prayers of intercession and thanksgiving; *sacrifices* (devkha, דבחה, from זבח), in which lambs were slaughtered before the church door;¹ again, their custom of dedicating the *firstlings* of fruits and herds to the Lord, for the service of the sanctuary or for the poor;² and again, their vows, for example Nazarite vows, in which they allowed the hair and beard to grow, were satisfied with meagre fare and avoided Levitical impurities; to which we may add the legal distinction between clean and unclean food. These all are things which those Christians of the East have retained from the Old Testament. The division of their church buildings into the ship, the sanctuary, and the holy of holies, seems also to be borrowed from the arrange-

¹ Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London 1852, p. 229, etc.

² The offering of the firstlings, a very old Christian custom derived from Jewish Christian communities, is now confirmed by the *Διάταξις τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, c. xiii. § 3.

ment of the temple at Jerusalem; for while the church assembled in the ship (called Hekla, from הֶכְלָה), the sanctuary (Medhba) could only be entered by ordained priests after previous fasting, but the little niche which was called the holy of holies, and in which there was only a cross, could be entered by none. Finally, in harmony with the peculiarities just mentioned are the extraordinary strictness of Sunday observance, and the celebration of the Easter-festival, which they still call the Passover, but in which the Lord's Supper takes the place of the Passover lamb; whereas the Old Testament prescriptions are still observed in other matters.

Thus, then, this Jewish Christian Church of the Assyrian upland, dead as it were, and again discovered, is a fragment of antiquity, preserved without injury in the enclosure of the mountains, from the time in which there were still pure Jewish Christian communities in the East. With respect to the character of these Jewish Christians, decimated by the Kurds in 1843 and 1846, this much is clear, that they cannot in any case be reckoned among the Ebionites, since they do not at all regard the Mosaic law as indispensable to salvation, so far as they themselves observe it, and are far from supposing that "Christians of the Gentiles," as they rightly call us, should observe those legal usages which are customary among them. Their whole peculiarity rather corresponds with the character of the Nazareans as we know it from the history of the first centuries. The Anglican missionary Badger (*The Nestorians*, 1852) shows that the Nestorians call themselves by the generic name "Christians," or "people of Messiah," Meschihayé, as well as Nsára, Nazareans, but also by the specific

designation, "Syrians," Surayé, or Nestorayá, i. 176, etc., 223, etc. One essential distinction between the Nestorians of to-day and the Nazaráens of the past no doubt lies in the fact that the Nazaráens of the post-apostolic period still retained circumcision, and only relinquished it in later times, whereas circumcision is unknown to the Nestorians, a circumstance in which, as already stated, we recognise the influence of the Gentile Christian Churches.

SECOND PART.

THE GENTILE CHRISTIANS.

In order to ascertain the true character of the development of the Church of Christ as shown in the Gentile Christian majority, from the end of the apostolic period to the end of the second century, we confine ourselves to the most essential features, for the separate questions and obscurities in this department are so many that we should lose the thread of our inquiry if we did not limit ourselves to the strictest bounds. The subject itself, however, requires a distinction between doctrine and life; hence this part is divided into two sections, the Church - historical and the dogmatic - historical. In regard to both several documents have in recent times become available for purposes of investigation. The Codex Sinaiticus, discovered by Tischendorf, is of importance in regard to the post-apostolic period, inasmuch as we now for the first time possess the Greek original of the Epistle of Barnabas in a complete form, as well as a considerable part at least of

the original text of the "Shepherd" of Hermas (not to mention the Simonides manuscript). Still more important was the discovery and publication by the metropolitan Bryennius of the two Epistles of Clement, from a manuscript hitherto unknown. But most important of all was the *Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, edited in Constantinople by this Greek scholar from the same manuscript, at the end of the year 1883.

In making use of the *Διδαχή*, it is a consideration of moment to determine whether this primitive document depends on sources that we know already, or whether it should be looked upon as independent. On the answer to this question depends the determination of the age and time to which the little work belongs. Bryennius, p. πδ', etc.; Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 1884, pp. 65, etc., 81; and Krawutzeki, "Ueber die sogen. Zwölfapostellehre," *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1884, pp. 547, etc., esp. 569, etc., assert that the author drew mainly from the Epistle of Barnabas, and that in particular he remodelled its doctrine of the "two ways." We have serious doubts of this. It appears to us that this question needs a much more minute examination, and especially a more careful investigation of the parallels in both. It is not for us to enter upon the inquiry here. We can only make a few observations at present. The expressions are in many instances of such a nature, that the corresponding passage of the Epistle of Barnabas seems not to be the original, but on the contrary a copy. For example, in Barnabas xix. 6 we read ὅτι ἄνευ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. The *Διδαχή* has in chap. iii. 10: ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. In the former the

expression obviously conforms to general usage. Is it conceivable that the *Διδαχή* should have borrowed the sentence from Barnabas, and in place of *ἀνευ*, the alleged original reading, put the antiquated *ἄτερ*, only used in poetry?¹ In the *Διδαχή* it is not unusual to find simple, biblical, sober thought, which in the Epistle of Barnabas is artificially metamorphosed, changed into a Gnostic form and exaggerated in an unbiblical way. It is only necessary to compare the beginning of the *Διδαχή*, i. 1, etc., with Barn. xviii. and xix. 1, 2, etc. How plain and unpretentious, attaching itself to Bible passages, is the language of the “teaching of the apostles;” how boastful, promising mysterious depths of Gnosis, is Barnabas! In the one, doctrine, in the other, insight and doctrine. In the former “the way of life” contrasted with that of “death.” In the latter “the way of light” and that of “darkness” or the way of the wicked one, *i.e.* Satan; comp. iv. 9 and xviii. 1: *φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, — ἄγγελοι τοῦ Σατανᾶ*. Is it likely that the more exaggerated artificial document should have served as the original, and not rather have been the product of a pretentious metamorphosis? How overstrained are these words of Barnabas, xix. 5: *Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου*, while the *Διδαχή*, ii. 7, simply says: “Thou shalt not hate any one, but some thou shalt rebuke, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love more than thine own soul.” Is the latter a weak imitation (Harnack, *Lehre*, p. 84, 1)? Is not the former much rather a visionary exaggeration? Again, the two commands of love to God and love to one’s

¹ In the New Testament *ἄτερ* is found only in Luke xxii. 6.

neighbour are in the *Διδαχή*, i. 2, classed together with simple, fundamental distinctness, whereas in Barnabas love to one's neighbour is lost as it were amid a number of less important precepts. But whereas Harnack, note on *Διδ.* text, i. 2, represents the *ὁ ποιήσας σε*, appended to the name of God, as borrowed from Barnabas xix. 2, it is far more probable that the expression: *ἀγαπήσεις τόν σε ποιήσαντα, φοβηθήσῃ τόν σε πλάσαντα*, employed by Barnabas, is a more extended paraphrase of the simple original. In our view it is an important circumstance that the Epistle of Barnabas on one occasion introduces the saying of Jesus: *πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί*, with the words: *ὡς γέγραπται*, c. iv. § 14, *i.e.* he quotes the saying as contained in Holy Scripture,¹ whereas the *Διδαχή* adopts numerous words of Jesus, especially those in the Sermon on the Mount, but in all cases only with an appeal to the *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, at most with the addition: *ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν*, chap. xv. 3 and 4; never with a *γέγραπται*, and never with express reference to a holy document. This fact favours the opinion that the *Διδαχή* is older and more original than the Barnabas Epistle which belongs to a later stratum where the Gospels have

¹ Before the Greek original of the first chapter of Barnabas' Epistle was known by means of the Sinaitic manuscript, some went so far as to take the *sicut scriptum est* of the old Latin version for a gloss, Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die bibl. Schriften*, i. p. 28. The Sinaitic has justified the translation as true to the Greek original, the *ὡς γέγραπται* as genuine, notwithstanding which Weizsäcker, *Zur Kritik des Barnabasbriefes*, 1863, p. 34, etc., is inclined to suppose that *γέγραπται* points to an extra-canonical source, such as 4 Ezra viii. 3; but Harnack, *Patr. ap. opp.*, in a note on the passage, rightly asserts that the author must have had in view the following passages of Matthew, *viz.* xx. 17, xxii. 14.

already a prescriptive authority as "scripture," so that they were cited as literature. With this agrees the remark that no single writing of Christian antiquity gives so clear and lively a presentation of the arrangements and conditions of the Churches immediately after the death of the apostle as the *Διδαχή*, as will appear most clearly with respect to offices.

By this we do not intend categorically to assert that the author of the Barnabas Epistle drew directly from the *Διδαχή* (in opposition to Harnack, *Lehre*, etc., p. 82). It is quite possible that certain principles and reminiscences of the apostolic preaching may have assumed a stereotyped form even before they were fixed in writing in the *Διδαχή*. It seems to us to be at least conceivable, and even probable, that where parallel passages are concerned the *Διδαχή* has a more original and genuine form than the Epistle of Barnabas.¹

The *Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, regarded as a whole, seems to us to rest on certain fundamental passages in the Bible. In the description of the life of the new converts made at Pentecost, and of

¹ This conclusion is admitted both by Funk and Zahn, as the author discovered after the close of his disquisition, and is now accepted by Dove and Langen also; by Funk in the treatise, "Doctrina Apostolica," *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1884, pp. 380, etc., esp. 398, etc.; by Zahn in his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des N. T. Kanons*, part iii. 1884, pp. 278, etc., esp. 310, etc.; by Richard Dove in his concluding note on Friedberg's article on the *Διδαχή* in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, 1884, p. 424, etc.; he affirms that Harnack has not proved that the *Διδαχή* takes its doctrine of the "two ways," chaps. i.-vi., from the Barnabas Epistle. Joseph Langen, in v. Sybel's *hist. Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 193, etc., has shown with great minuteness, by means of a careful comparison of the text, that Barnabas, chaps. xviii.-xxi., draws from the *Διδαχή*, and that the section chaps. i.-vi. in the latter work was not derived from Barnabas. So also Sabatier, *La Didaché*, p. 82,

those incorporated with the Church, Acts ii. 42, chief prominence is given to the fact that they continually adhered to the διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων. Undoubtedly the above-mentioned trait was a factor in the establishment and formulating of apostolic doctrine. But this primitive apostolic custom itself points back to a still more original foundation. To it is due the fact in particular that the apostolic teaching was predominantly *moral* in character. We refer to the Redeemer's command with respect to baptism, contained in Matt. xxviii. 19, etc., where he enjoins his apostles to make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and teaching them all things that He had commanded (διδάσκοντες τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν). The substance of their teaching was to consist in what the Redeemer had *commanded*, the catechumens were to be trained in obedience to the ἐντολαί of Christ. Hence it is easy to understand how the διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων, since it undoubtedly took early shape and in tradition gradually assumed a fixed form, referred chiefly to the ἐντολαὶ κυρίου (comp. Διδαχὴ, iv. 13: οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἅ παρέλαβες (= τηρεῖν ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην), comp. i. 5, ii. 1, xiii. 5).

etc. The same relation obviously exists between the Διδαχὴ on the one hand and the Shepherd of Hermas on the other hand. The parallels between the two latter works are neither so numerous nor so unmistakable as between the Διδαχὴ and Barnabas. This is recognised by Bryennius, p. σδ', as well as Harnack, who affirms only the "probable" use of the Hermas by the Διδαχὴ, p. 87. Harnack's argument in the note to chap. i. 5, p. 6, etc., proves his point the less clearly since the Δ., i. 5, is in more than one respect enigmatical and disputed. Nor does Zahn's examination, *ante*, which seeks to prove the priority of the Shepherd and the dependence of the Διδαχὴ on Hermas, appear to us by any means convincing.

FIRST SECTION.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND ITS ARRANGEMENTS.

A. WORSHIP AND ECCLESIASTICAL OBSERVANCES.

The *Lord's Supper* forms the centre of all Christian worship in the post-apostolic time. The agapæ, meals of Christian brotherhood, that had originally culminated in the Lord's Supper, had been even at the beginning of the post-apostolic time separated here and there from the worship as also from the holy supper, which appears from the letter of Pliny, x. 96, in the first decade of the second century, and also from Justin, *Apology*, chap. lxxv. (cxl.).¹ But it follows from the *Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων* that the separation of the Lord's Supper from the brotherly meal had not yet been effected in all parts of Christendom. It is true that the prescriptions respecting the Eucharist, ix. 1-5, have only in view the Lord's Supper itself. But when the words in x. 1 are immediately added: *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε*, etc., the union of an actual meal, *i.e.* of a brotherly meal with the Lord's Supper, is presupposed. It is likely that the brotherly meal followed the Lord's Supper. The beautiful

¹ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryphon*, chap. 41, ed. Otto, 1848, ii. 134: "The Old Testament offering of wheaten flour for those cleansed from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the holy supper: τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους οὗ ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαιρομένων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας ἀνθρώπων Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν παρίδωκε ποιῆν. Comp. *Διδαχὴ*, ix. 3: εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν, etc.; x. 2: καὶ ἀθανασίας ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου. § 3: ἰχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζῶην αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς σου."

prayer of thanksgiving, x. 2-5, esp. 2-6, has no proper meaning unless spoken after an "agape," for thanks are offered up in § 3 for meat and drink, while grateful praise for the *πνευματικὴ τροφή καὶ ποτός* given to believers only follows. The exhortation, xiv. 1: "On the Lord's Day, *συναχθέντες κλάσατε τὸν ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε,*" also implies the association of the breaking of bread at the brotherly meal (Acts ii. 42, 46) with the Lord's Supper, the Eucharist. I find that this is Zahn's view also, *Forschungen*, iii. p. 296, etc. The fact that the *Διδαχὴ* still adheres to the union of agape and Eucharist, may be taken as additional evidence for the almost apostolic age of this early document.¹ The true Lord's Supper, as the most sacred act of divine worship, celebrated by itself, has its centre in one aspect in the propitiatory sufferings of Christ, and forms a purely Christian act completely severed from all other religious fellowships, especially since by virtue of the mysterious, esoteric character which it possessed even in early times, participation in it is made to depend on preliminary baptism with confession of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as well as on a pious Christian walk.² But with respect to the holy supper, Höfling³ has clearly shown that it is

¹ Comp. Paul Sabatier, *La Didaché*, Paris 1885, p. 99, etc., although we cannot assent to all that he says.

² Justin, *Apol.* i. chap. 66 (p. 67, etc., of the Paris edition): (εὐχαριστίας) οὐδενὶ ἄλλῃ μετασχεῖν ἕξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῶ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ διδασκόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρὸν, καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρίδωκεν. Comp. *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, chap. ix. 5: Μηδὲς φαγέτω μηδὲ πίτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου.

³ *Die Lehre der ältesten Kirche vom Opfer im Leben und Cultus der Christen*, Erlangen 1851, esp. p. 45, etc. In chap. xiv. 1 and 2,

not regarded as a *sacrifice* in the Levitical-hierarchical sense, either by the apostolic Fathers or by Justin the martyr. He proves by a careful exposition of the Fathers, keeping the context always in view, that the "sacrifice of the Lord's Supper," apart from the alms-offering with which it was connected in the practice of the Church, was simply an offering of prayer; that the sacrificial act of the Christians was simply an act of prayer.

So also *baptism*, which was regarded by the Fathers not merely as a baptism of repentance having symbolical significance, but as a bath of regeneration and forgiveness of sins¹ having sacramental efficacy, attests an independent position and conception of Christianity as compared with Judaism. That is to say, inasmuch as it was performed, according to appointment, in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, it is undoubtedly a seal bearing the stamp of Christianity, not as opposed to the old covenant, but yet as distinguished from it.

It is, indeed, beyond doubt that long after the

the *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* repeatedly applies the idea of *θυσία* to the communion. But the connection shows that even here the idea of "sacrifice" is not understood in a Levitical, hierarchical sense, for *the members of the Church* themselves are the communicants, not the administering officers of the Church, *i.e.* priests. In both cases the Eucharist is called *ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν*, supposing that *ὑμῶν* is the correct reading in the first case, as well as afterwards in § 2, whilst in § 1 the manuscript has *ἡμῶν*. The meaning is the sacrifice which *you* offer to God in your grateful, devotional desire for the Eucharist.

¹ Ep. Barnabae, chap. 11: Ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γίμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπου, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρσοφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ πνεύματι.—Justin, *Apol.* i. chap. 61: ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἕνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννώμεθα.—*Dial.* c. *Tryphon*, chap. 48. 231: τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ μόνον καθάρσαι τοὺς μετανοήσαντας δυνάμενον τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ζωῆς.

apostolic time, the Old Testament, at first by itself and exclusively, afterwards in connection with the writings of the New Testament, formed the basis and *means of edification* in the services of the Gentile Christian Churches. But this by no means proves that the novelty and independence of Christianity did not for a long time enter into the consciousness of the Gentile Christian portion of the Church (Schwegler, *ante*, ii. 197). This would be entirely to mistake the way in which the Gentile Christians looked at the Old Testament, regarding it as no longer rightly belonging to the Jews but exclusively to the Christians, and interpreting it in a spiritual sense.¹

The *holy seasons* of the Church serve as a symbolical expression of the novelty and independence of Christianity. Already in the time of the apostles, Sunday was celebrated every week as the feast of the resurrection of Jesus, as shown above, p. 153, vol. i. etc., *in addition to* the Old Testament Sabbath, probably even by Jewish Christians. Among the Gentile Christians we find that, from the end of the first century, the Sabbath was supplanted by the Sunday, as appears from the *Epistle of Barnabas*, which implies the observance of the eighth day as a standing custom in opposition to that of the seventh, now disapproved by God.² This may also be seen from the *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*,³

¹ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryphion*, c. 28, etc., 246: 'Ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀπόκεινται γράμμασι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐχ ἡμετέροις, ἀλλ' ἡμετέροις· ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς πειθόμεθα, ὑμῖς δὲ ἀναγινώσκοντες οὐ νοεῖτε τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦν. Comp. the whole Barnabas Epistle.

² C. 15. 9: Διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἢ ἢ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνίστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, etc.

³ C. 14. § 1: Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντις κλάσατε ἄρτον.

from Justin Martyr,¹ Ignatius,² and the Epistle to Diognetus.³ The *Apostolic Constitutions* alone take another view, since, although not intended for Jewish Christian circles, they yet expressly recommend the religious observance of the Sabbath as well as the Sunday.⁴ The Sunday is here distinguished as the day of the Lord, while the Sabbath is no longer pre-eminently the Lord's day of rest; moreover, the *Constitutions* reject the Jewish mode of keeping the Sabbath, viz. by mere inaction;⁵ yet the Sabbath is in a certain sense put on a par with the Sunday, which strikes us as something strange, a feeling which is not entirely removed by Ritschl's observation, *Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 329, to the effect that the reference is not to Jewish

¹ *Apol.* i. c. 67, 98: Καὶ τῆ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρα πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροῦς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται.—Ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ἣ ὁ θεὸς, τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρίψας κόσμον ἐποίησι, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῆ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀνέστη· τῆ γὰρ προ τῆς κρονικῆς (*pridie Saturni*) ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν, καὶ τῆ μετὰ τὴν κρονικὴν, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἡλίου ἡμέρα, φανὴς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα, etc. — *Dial. c. Tryphon*, c. 12, etc., 229: σαββατίζουσιν ἡμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διαπαντὸς θέλει, καὶ ὑμεῖς μίαν ἀργουῦντες ἡμέραν εὐσεβεῖν δοκεῖτε. An actual contradiction between the ideal requirement of a continual observance of the Sabbath on the one hand, and the custom of Sunday worship on the other hand, as implied by Justin in the above passage, does not exist.

² Epistle to the Magnesians, c. 8. 1; see *infra*.

³ Epistle to Diognet. c. 4: ἡ περὶ τὰ σάββατα δεῖσιδαιμονία.

⁴ *Const. ap.* ii. c. 59, ed. Ultzen, 1853, p. 70, etc.: Ἐκάστης ἡμέρας συναθροίσεσθε ὄρθρου καὶ ἑσπέρας ψάλλοντες καὶ προσευχόμενοι ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς.—Μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστασίμῳ τῇ κυριακῇ σπουδαιοτέρως ἀπαντᾶτε, αἶνον ἀναπέμποντες τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὰ ἔλα διὰ Ἰησοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξαποστειλάντι καὶ συγχαρήσαντι παθεῖν καὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσαντι.

⁵ *Const. ap.* vi. c. 23. 1, p. 151: Ὁ σαββατίζουσιν δι' ἀργίας νομοθετήσας διὰ τὴν τοῦ νόμου μελίτην νῦν καθημέραν ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς εὐχαριστεῖν θεῷ; ii. 36: σαββατιεῖς—σαββατισμὸν μελίτης νόμων, οὐ χειρῶν ἀργίαν.

inactivity on the Sunday, but to Christian worship. On the contrary, Dorner has in our opinion found the true solution, when, referring to the *Constit. apost.* vii. 23,¹ he says: "The opposition to Gnosticism seems to have kept up the celebration of the Sabbath as well as Sunday, which had at first been historically necessary, for a longer time," because it did not appear practicable to give up the religious celebration of the creation, so long as the Creator was by many not acknowledged as the Supreme God. It was possible, however, as we learn from Justin, to observe the memory of the creation even on Sunday in opposition to Gnosticism; but when, in memory of the world's creation, the Sabbath was retained *in addition to* the Sunday, and was distinguished by the worship of God, we cannot fail to recognise a certain dependence on the law, however modified by motives and method.

But if Sunday was the Christian weekly festival, the *Passover*, the oldest and first of all those festivals which now form the series of the ecclesiastical year, was the Christian yearly festival. The Passover, however, belongs not only in name, but also by virtue of its original meaning, to the Israelite circle of feasts; and within Christendom, to Jewish Christianity. It is well known that in the first centuries several disputes took place with respect to the observance of the Passover; different circles following different customs. This divergence of practice and the negotia-

¹ vii. c. 23. § 2: Τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἑορτάζετε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα, ἡ δὲ ἀναστάσεως. It is worthy of note that the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vii. c. 30, following the *Διδαχὴ*, of which the seventh book is a revision (according to the showing of Bryennius and Harnack), speaks exclusively of the "Lord's Day" as the day when divine worship was always celebrated.

tions that took place regarding it, meant nothing less than the gradual severance of the Christian festival arrangement from that of the Old Testament, together with the establishment and exclusive supremacy of an independent, purely Christian festival observance. To this aspect of the subject we shall confine ourselves, leaving other aspects¹ of the much-vexed Passover question that has not unfrequently been made more obscure by learned disquisitions, as much as possible out of sight. In the second century two leading customs with regard to the Passover were in opposition to one another, and in the second half of this century came into collision. They are commonly called the "Western" and the "Eastern" practice.² But the opposition was by no means between a purely Christian party and a Judaizing one, as recent criticism admits;³ for the people of Asia Minor, who followed the tradition of the Apostle John, observed a *Christian* Passover as well as the other provincial Churches, in memory of the sufferings and crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Even by their opponents, they are *never* accused of a Judaistic denial of the gospel of grace and reconciliation through Christ; on the contrary, their perfect agreement with the apostolic

¹ For example, the reference of the question to the chronology of Passion-week and to John's Gospel.

² The learned Bishop of Rottenburg, Karl Joseph Hefele, who discusses this question in his *Conciliengeschichte*, i. 1855, p. 286, etc., in connection with the Nicene Council, has observed (p. 294) that this terminology is inaccurate, and that it would be more correct to designate the former practice as the *communis* or prevailing one, the latter as the Johannine. In conformity with this, in his 2nd edition, 1873, i. p. 86, etc., he terms the Christians in proconsular Asia the "Johannine Quartodecimans."

³ Even Baur, *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed. p. 158.

tradition of the Church is positively attested.¹ The difference, so far as it appeared externally, consisted solely in the fact that the people of Asia Minor (*a*) always kept the Passover on the 14th Nisan; (*b*) regulated the conclusion of the fast by this day (and did not give up fasting and turn to the enjoyment of feasting on the very day on which they solemnized the death of Jesus).² All the theories that have been set up on different sides regarding the character and motives of this change are thus disposed of. In opposition to this, the other Churches (*a*) did not in observing the Passover go by the 14th Nisan, but by the feast of Jesus' resurrection, which they invariably kept on the Sunday; hence (*b*) the conclusion of the feast always and invariably fell on Easter Sunday. In other words, the question between the two Church-parties turned upon the *normal day* of the entire Passover feast, on the day by which the other days of the Easter festival and its transactions were to be regulated. The Christians of Asia Minor took for this normal day the 14th Nisan, being the day of the month on which Jesus was crucified. The other Churches held fast by the Sunday of the resurrection of Jesus as the normal day, because the Redeemer had risen on a Sunday. With the former, the normal

¹ Hippolytus, *Philosophumena s. Refutatio haresium*, vii. 18, p. 434 (Duncker): 'Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰτέροις οὗτοι συμφωνοῦσι πρὸς πάντα τὰ τῆ ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδειδομένα.

² Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* v. 23: κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν does not necessarily mean, on this day (14th Nisan), but, according to this day, the close of the feast being regulated by it. The inaccurate, common explanation has led to the most diverse but equally groundless conclusions (in the case of Baur as well as Weitzel); attention was first directed to the true interpretation, if we mistake not, by G. K. Mayer, *Ächtheit des Ev. nach Joh.* 1854, p. 394.

day was a monthly, with the latter a weekly day. With the former, the yearly festival of the resurrection and consequently the close of the Passover might fall on any day of the week ; with the latter, the feast of the resurrection *must* fall on a Sunday, so that the keeping of the day of crucifixion was always on a Friday. Thus the question in its outward aspect was only a calendar question, a question of Christian feast-reckoning. But the matter had still a deeper significance, for the one party put the Jewish calendar at the foundation of the Christian festival year ; while the other, departing from it, kept the leading festivals of the Christians independent of the Old Testament Passover festival, according to an absolute and purely Christian rule. This standard was no other than the Sunday, which had long been celebrated as a holy day of the week, as a specifically Christian weekly festival, but was now applied as a crystallizing point to an independent Christian festival arrangement embracing the entire year. It is obvious that the Passover disputes were so important as to carry through the autonomy of Christianity with respect to the Christian festival customs, and to separate the latter entirely from Old Testament legality.¹ Since it was in accordance with the divine plan that the Old Testament shell should burst quite open and then be entirely thrown off, while, on the contrary, the pure kernel of Christianity should attain to full and free

¹ Nowhere do we find this aspect of the question more clearly indicated than in the short discussion of Hippolytus on the Quartodecimans, whose concluding sentence as to the orthodoxy of the party in other respects has already been cited (p. 305, vol. ii., note 1), vii. 18, p. 434 (Duncker) : "Ἐτεροι δὲ τινες φιλόνομοι τὴν φύσιν, ἰδιῶται τὴν γνῶσιν, μαχιμώτεροι τὸν τρόπον, συνιστάνουσι δεῖν τὸ πάσχα τῆ τισσαρησκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς φυλάσσειν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ νόμου διαταγὴν, ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρα

development, therefore in this particular matter of Christian life the victory and the future were given to that side which represented the purity, independence and honour of Christianity. Hence the party that adhered to the 14th Nisan, and therefore indirectly to an Israelite observance of feasts and to the law (although quite free from legality in doctrine) became isolated by degrees; then, as the Quarta-deciman sect, it went to the wall, and finally disappeared altogether. This is the true state of the case according to important early documents, particularly the writing of Bishop Polycrates to Bishop Victor in Rome, and in accordance with the declarations of Irenæus and the fragment of a writing of Palestinian bishops (all of which have been preserved by Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 24, etc.), as well as the account of Eusebius himself (v. 23): the question turns on *τηρεῖν* and *μὴ τηρεῖν*, on the *τηρεῖν* (or *ἄγειν*) *τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα*. The question as to the close of the fast was only a by-question, inasmuch as the Romans and others might observe Easter Day and thus conclude the Passover fast without restriction on Sunday as the weekly festival of the resurrection of Jesus; while, on the other hand, the Christians of Asia Minor might observe it on any day of the week they liked, only regulating this by the day of the death of Jesus, which certainly fell on the day of the month in question (14th Nisan).

ἐμπίσχη, ὑφορώμενοι τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν νόμῳ, ὡς ἐπικυυάρατον ἔσθαι τὸν μὴ φυλάζοντα οὕτως ὡς διαστίλλεται· οὐ προσέχοντες ὅτι Ἰουδαίοις ἐνομοτίθειτο τοῖς μέλλουσι τὸ ἀληθινὸν πάσχα ἀναίρειν, τὸ εἰς ἔθνη χωρῆσαν (an intimation of the Gentile Christian, autonomous standpoint), καὶ σίστει νοούμενον, οὐ γράμμασι νῦν τηρούμενον. Οἱ μὲν ταύτη προσέχοντες ἐπολιτῶν ἐκ ἀφορῶν εἰς τὸ εἰρημῆρον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὅτι διακαρτέρημαι παντὶ περιτεμομένῳ, ὅτι ὀφειλίτης ἐστὶ τοῦ πάντα τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι.

The attempt has, however, been made to show that something quite distinct lies at the foundation of this difference of custom, viz. that the Christians of Asia Minor did not observe the 14th Nisan as the day of Jesus' death, but as the day on which He ate the Passover lamb with His disciples, solemnizing it by a Christian Passover meal; whereas their opponents, proceeding from the fundamental thought that Jesus was the true and real Passover Lamb, had arrived at the conclusion that Jesus must have died on *the same* day on which it was customary to slay the Jewish Passover lamb; hence in the view of the latter, the Westerns, the 14th alone could have been the day of Jesus' death.¹ Pausing for a moment on the latter point, according to this acceptation the Westerns must have celebrated the 14th Nisan itself, their most important anniversary, as solemnly, and adhered to it as tenaciously, as the Christians of Asia Minor, the former keeping it, however, as the day of Jesus' death, the latter as the day of the last Passover meal of Jesus,—whereas the *μὴ τηρεῖν τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην* was exactly their distinguishing mark! It is only by means of a not very convincing train of thought that Baur, *ante*, p. 163, etc., can evade this inconvenient but overpowering conclusion. The main ground of his distorted view lies, to our thinking, in the circumstance that the alleged opposition between John and the Synoptics with respect to the day of Jesus' death has been mixed up in a hasty way with the party disputes of the second century. But appeal is made to original documents which, it is said, show clearly and inevitably that such was the state of the case, viz. to the fragments of Apollinarius contained

¹ Baur, *Christenthum*, 2nd ed. p. 161, etc.

in the Passover Chronicle, to Hippolytus and Clement of Alexandria. These are doubtless directed against those Christians who looked upon the 14th Nisan as the day of the last Passover supper of Jesus, and therefore regarded the 15th as the day of His death, celebrating the former with a Christian Passover meal. But this implies an assumption that cannot be proved, adopted by Baur from Neander, viz. that those Churchmen had in view the festival arrangement of the Christians of Asia Minor and combated it. To Weitzel¹ belongs the principal merit of having refuted this assumption, though Schneider² arrived independently at the same conclusion. The context of the Byzantine Passover Chronicle, in which the fragments are inserted, contains no reference to the Passover dispute between Asia Minor and Rome, nor does the text of this fragment itself make any positive allusion to that well-known difference. In one fragment Hippolytus is evidently occupied with an individual opponent (λέγει γὰρ οὕτως—"διὸ καὶ με δεῖ—οὕτω ποιεῖν"), namely, one who considers it essential in imitation of Jesus to observe a Christian Passover meal at the Passover time, and has apparently set forth this view in writing. Here, as in Clement of Alexandria and Apollinarius, it is not a

¹ In the learned and profound work, *Die Christliche Passafest der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1848, esp. p. 19, etc. If all points of this obscure subject are not satisfactorily discussed, yet the author has thrown much light on it, in particular he has brought forward proof that Apollinarius himself is on the side of the Christians of Asia Minor; comp. Steitz, *Stud. und Krit.* 1856, p. 721, etc., and Scholten, *Godgeleerde*, Bydragen, 1856, vol. ii. p. 105, etc., and recently the article "Passa christliches," by Wagenmann, *Real-Encyklopädie*, 2nd ed. ii. 1883, p. 270, etc.

² *Die Aechtheit des Joh. Evangeliums*, 1854, p. 51, etc.

question of *τηρεῖν* or *μὴ τηρεῖν*, *scil.* τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην, but of *the manner* of observance, viz. whether the feast was to be solemnized by a Christian Passover meal or not. The Church teachers above named negative this, taking up the dogmatic position that Jesus is Himself the true Passover Lamb, for which reason He did not once partake of the legal Passover lamb during the week of His passion; and that the 14th Nisan was the day of His death not of His Passover meal. It is more probable that the custom attacked is something peculiar, Judaistic in fact, and at variance with the general custom prevalent in Asia Minor; whereas, on the contrary, the assumption that it *must* have been the prevailing practice in Asia Minor is the more arbitrary, since we know quite well from Irenæus that there existed in his time a confused multiplicity of observances with respect to the Christian Passover, especially regarding the duration of the fast (*ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηρούντων*, in the fragment of the writing to Bishop Victor at Rome, in Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 24). The more powerfully the Church of that time felt the inclination and impulse towards unity, the stronger must have been the motive to contend for a united and at the same time purely Christian observance in the case of an important part of worship such as the Passover, which was at that time the sole yearly festival of the Christians.

B. CHRISTIAN CUSTOMS AND DISCIPLINE.

The great value and importance which the post-apostolic Church attached to practical Christianity, to the pious, pure, virtuous walk of its Church members, is clearly seen from the newly-discovered document,

“Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.” Almost the first half of this very ancient Church manual (chaps. i.–vi.) is occupied solely with the commands of the Lord, with directions for a truly Christian walk in “the way of life,” and with warnings against “the way of death.” These admonitions are unquestionably addressed to catechumens in the first instance, which is proved by the reference in vii. 1 to what goes before: *Ταῦτα πάντα* (moral commands) *προειπόντες βαπτίσατε*, etc., and again by the oft-repeated address: *τέκνον μου*, iii. 1, etc. These admonitions, meant to be enforced on catechumens chiefly, but also on all believers, are based partly on the sacred ten commandments, partly on the teaching of the Redeemer, but manifestly received their development and expression by degrees, and passed over in tradition from a state of fluidity into a fixed crystallized form.

Asceticism, or the striving after holiness by virtuous conduct and renunciation of self, which from the time of the apostles became more and more naturalized in Christianity, has by its externality and gradual legal normalization given rise to the appearance of an Ebionite and anti-Pauline character, in a way that may easily be explained. We must not, however, overlook the fact, first, that the Apostle Paul himself, in his opinion of marriage, celibacy, and similar questions, was favourable to asceticism; and again, on the other hand, that the ultra-Pauline, anti-Jewish tendency in Gnosticism (Marcion and afterwards the Manichæans) had likewise its asceticism which it carried to extremes. All Gnosis was on its practical side characterized by asceticism, which was even enhanced by the dualism between *πνεῦμα* and *ῥλη*. Finally, on closer investigation an internal dis-

inction between Jewish and Christian asceticism is unmistakeable. Hauber (Tertullian's Kampf gegen die zweite Ehe, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1845, p. 637) defines it as follows: "To Jews the law exists for its own sake; it is the *will of God* which they honour, and to which they submit; obedience, servitude of man toward God, is the essence of Jewish legality. In Christian asceticism the question is not so much one of obedience on the part of man to God as of a relation within man himself between obedience and servitude, viz. that in man the flesh should yield to the spirit and be in subjection to it." The "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" attaches great importance to fasting; in it fasting and prayer are all but inseparable: intercession for enemies and persecutors is, according to i. 3, associated with fasting for them. A holy act like baptism is to be preceded by fasting: the baptizer and the baptized, and even others who are in a position to do so, are to fast previously, the candidate for baptism, for one or two days (vii. 4). Yet fasting is not enjoined in a spirit of Jewish legality, but as a specifically Christian act, for the members of the Church were not to fast on the second and fifth days of the week (Monday and Thursday), but on Wednesday and Friday (*παρασκευή*); on the other two days "hypocrites" fasted (viii. 1). The meaning is plain: the weekly fasting was to be clearly distinguished from the specifically Jewish fasting. There can be no doubt that Wednesday and Friday were prescribed with reference to the Passion week of the Redeemer, although this motive is not expressly named. The direction here given has unmistakeably a close connection with the Passover dispute.

This is the most suitable place to give a brief

explanation of Montanism, the peculiar province of which lies obviously in Christian morals.¹

¹ Both the adherents and opponents of Montanism agree in their description of it. Tertullian, a decided Montanist in his later writings, says in *De Monogamia*, c. 2, ed. Oehler, i. 762, of opponents: *paracletum—existimant novæ discipline institutorem*. He himself indeed does not admit this, but rather calls the Paraclete *restitutorem potius quam institutorem*, *ib.* c. 4, i. 766, Oehler; yet he presupposes that *disciplina* is his peculiar province, and expressly attests that the Paraclete, setting out with that principal rule (*de principali regula illa (scil. fidei), multa quæ sunt disciplinarum revelabit, fidem dicente pro eis integritate prædicationis*), *i. e.* his revelations respecting morals and discipline are accredited by the orthodoxy of his doctrine, c. 2. An opponent, however, *viz.* Hippolytus, *Refutatio hæres.* viii. 19, p. 436, ed. Duncker, also attests the orthodoxy of the Montanists in their doctrine of God and Christ; he finds innovations only in the department of morals: *Οὔτοι τὸν μὲν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων θεὸν καὶ πάντων κτίστην ὁμοίως τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμολογοῦσι, καὶ ὅσα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρεῖ, καινίζουσι δὲ νηστείας καὶ ἑορτὰς καὶ ξηροφαγίας καὶ ῥαφανοεργίας, etc.* Among modern scholars, Neander, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1st ed. 1827, first treated of Montanism in its *doctrine*. On the other hand, Schwegler (*Der Montanism*, 1841) sought the centre of the whole system in the Paraclete, by whom the gradual progress and completion of the Church is to be effected through revelations, but he thought that the whole phenomenon should be looked upon as a development of Ebionite Jewish Christianity. Baur himself believed that he discovered the *punctum saliens*, the organization-centre, from which everything "Montanistic" proceeds, in millenarianism and the idea of the approaching end of the world, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1851, p. 538, etc., esp. p. 560, etc.; *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed. p. 235, etc.; without failing to perceive that the Paraclete "has the sphere of His *real* activity in the department of morals," p. 240. On the other hand, Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 492, clearly perceives that Christian morality is the proper field of the activity of Montanism. W. Belch, *Geschichte des Montanismus*, 1883, p. 48, asserts that the logical consequence of Montanism is an exaltation of the revelations of the Paraclete above those of the Old and New Testaments, an exaltation of the Spirit above Father and Son, consequently an inversion of the doctrine of the Trinity. This statement rests solely on fictitious inferences.

Montanism is one of the manifold religious movements that conduced to the fuller realization of Christianity and its exemplification in the life, at a time in which it had to conquer a field for itself over against Judaism and heathenism. According to Montanism, Christianity was to find its perfect realization, not in the sphere of faith and doctrine, dogma and reason, but in the field of practical life, in Christian practice and holiness, accompanied with stedfast looking for the second coming, the approaching end of the world and the millennial kingdom. Alleged prophetic revelations by the Paraclete were the instrument for effecting this practical reform.¹ Schwegler pronounces Montanistic prophecy to be an Ebionite feature; but Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, p. 477, rightly rejects this opinion. Comp. Bonwetsch, *Geschichte des Montanismus*, 1881, p. 66, etc. The latter reminds us that the ecstatic form of Montanist prophecy rather points to heathen divination as its source. Comp. also Fr. Ed. König, *Offenbarungsbegriff des A. T.* i. 114, etc., ii. 49, etc. Among the moral relations to which the Montanist revelations, the

¹ This prophecy was the peculiar formal principle of Montanism. By means of it the sole and absolutely highest validity of the word of God, the *verbo solo*, was misapprehended and even disparaged in an outrageous way,—a true “fanatic enthusiasm,” as Th. Harnack, *Christl. Gemeindegottesdienst*, p. 52, etc., excellently puts it. This was well known to the Church; for Hippolytus, p. 436 (Duncker), shows his acquaintance with the high opinion of the Montanists respecting the revelations of Priscilla and Maximilla: *Πλεῖτόν τε δὲ αὐτῶν φάσκοντες μεμαθηκέναι ἢ ἐκ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποστόλους καὶ πᾶν χάρισμα ταῦτα τὰ γυναῖκα δοξάζουσι, ὡς πολὺν πλεῖτόν τε Χριστοῦ ἐν τούτοις λέγειν τινὰς αὐτῶν γεγονέναι.*—On the apocalyptic moment in Montanism, comp. Lücke, *Versuch einer vollst. Einleitung in die Offenbarung Joh.* 2nd ed. p. 321, etc.

prescriptions of the Paraclete extend, martyrdom, marriage, fasting, and outward propriety of demeanour are chiefly to be named. The duty of fidelity even to *martyrdom* was inculcated anew by Montanism; because in many circles a moral laxity, a suspicious elasticity of conscience in the matter of confession under suffering, began to prevail. With respect to *fasting* the Montanists made more stringent rules on the alleged divine authority of the Paraclete.¹ They also prohibited second marriages, without demanding complete celibacy; although their point of view might logically have led to this conclusion. In addition, they made all kinds of rules for conduct, *e.g.* the young women were never to appear unveiled in the Church assemblies, a Christian was not allowed to wear a garland, etc. In other respects it was not a question (at least in Tertullian's view) of introducing a *new* moral law, but only of carrying out the *old* one laid down in the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and of giving full legal effect to commands already existing, so that Montanism would only be new in so far as it was reactionary.² But it is very questionable whether this was not simply Tertullian's own view, who hoped for success in the defence and recommendation of his party in proportion as he could prove that they proposed no actual innovation, but only aimed at restoring the old well-known and recognised code to its merited rank; in other words, that Montanism was no innovation, but only a necessary reform, viz. the restoration of original, biblical, and apostolic Christianity. As a

¹ Apollonius apud Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 18. § 2: Μοντανός ό νηστείας νομοθετήσας.

² Comp. Ritschl, *Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 513.

matter of fact, Montanism was an exaggeration and rigorous overstraining of the asceticism and legality that had penetrated Christianity; its asceticism being, however, methodically arranged, so that we may call it a methodism of asceticism. In order to carry out its law of morals in practice, to present the community of Christ as a holy Church, a pure virgin, a strict moral discipline was necessary, which Montanism enforced so rigidly that every mortal sin led to absolute exclusion from the Church; while murder, idolatry, and unchastity might be forgiven by *God* in case of repentance and conversion, but never by the *Church*. It is in harmony with this that Montanism assigned the power of the keys, the right to bind and to loose, to the new prophets as being spiritually gifted. This was a deviation on one side from the original autonomy of the Church, inasmuch as the right in question was given *only* to those inspired by the Paraclete, on the other side from the disciplinary power of the bishops that had already sprung up at that time.¹ Hence this encroaches on the province of Church government, and therefore Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 519, characterizes Montanism as "a crisis in the *constitution* of the Catholic Church." But this encroachment on questions of the constitution is obviously a subordinate result only, the kernel of the whole lying in the province of morals, so that Montanism should rather be designated as "a product of an ascetic crisis in the Church."²

¹ The question was: office or gift? One may certainly say with Th. Harnack, *Christliche Gemeindegottesdienst*, p. 331, etc., note: "The burning question between Montanism and the Church was the *question of office*;" comp. Dorner, *ante*, i. p. 151, note.

² See Hauber, *ante*, p. 656. In modern times Dorner, *ante*, i. 185, etc., note, called attention to the fact which Ritschl, *Altkath.*

C. CONSTITUTION AND ORDER OF THE CHURCH.

All orders and offices in communities as well as in the collective Church developed, as we have seen, by degrees. In proportion as the constitution of the Church took definite form in post-apostolic time, it lost that simplicity and freedom of Church-fellowship which existed in the time of the apostles. Through the early document, *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, we obtain a glance into the internal relations of the Christian Churches as they still

Kirche, 2nd ed. p. 529, etc., endeavoured to prove at great length, viz. that the "Shepherd" of Hermas is closely allied to Montanism, inasmuch as the leading idea of the book is repentance, its chief question the possibility of repeated repentance after conversion, especially for him who has denied Jesus under persecution. Besides, a high estimate of martyrdom, an anti-hierarchical spirit and revelation through visions, are common to the "Shepherd" and the Montanists. On this account Ritschl has no hesitation in declaring the author of the "Shepherd" to be a Montanist, *Altkath. Kirche*, 1st ed. p. 558. Uhlhorn, however, *Monatsschrift von Lücke und Wieseler*, 1850, p. 281, etc., and afterwards Hilgenfeld, *Apost. Väter*, p. 177, etc., observe that Hermas, ascetically inclined though he be, deviates from Montanism in essential points, and has no connection with it, either of a friendly or hostile nature; with which Tertullian's condemnatory judgment agrees, *De pudicitia*, c. x. 20, for he thinks the "Shepherd" morally lax. Recognising the correctness of these remarks, Ritschl, in his second edition, 1857, pp. 529-538, has somewhat modified his representation of the connection between Hermas and Montanism. On the other hand, Theodor Zahn, *Hirt des Hermas*, 1868, p. 356, etc., has definitely shown that there is not any direct connection between the "Shepherd" and historical Montanism, and even that the two do not coincide in their main substance, inasmuch as Montanism has for its object an ascetic reaction, an elevation of moral discipline, a more rigid penitential practice in the Church, whereas Hermas does not follow an ecclesiastical but a religious aim, viz. a moral purification of the Church and its consequent pacification.

existed in the beginning of the post-apostolic time, a view which presents many strange features as compared with current belief. We here find, xv. 1 and 2, not merely ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι, but also προφήται and διδάσκαλοι, and even ἀπόστολοι, who are not identical with the New Testament Twelve, but yet belong to the actual time of the author (xi. 3-6). Occasionally an "apostle" comes to the Church, and again takes his departure (xi. 4). These "apostles" were undoubtedly nothing but wandering evangelists, missionaries, such as Eusebius depicts in the course of his description of Pantænus, *H. E.* v. 10, end of § 2, and at still greater length in iii. 37. § 1-3. Eusebius ranks them immediately with the apostles whose disciples they were, since, though not connected with any particular Church, they travelled from place to place, preaching Christ to such as had not heard the word. But whereas Eusebius designates these men as εὐαγγελισταὶ τοῦ λόγου (v. 10. 2), and only ascribes to them an inspired zeal after the apostolic example, "never giving them the title apostle," just as all the apostolic Fathers, with the single exception of Hermas,¹ restrict the name apostle exclusively to the Twelve (*e.g.*

¹ In the "Shepherd" of Hermas the name ἀπόστολοι occurs five times; only in *one case* (*Simil.* ix. 17. § 1) is it certain that the Twelve are meant; in the other passages (*Vis.* iii. 5. 1; *Sim.* ix. 15. 4, 16. 5, 25. 2) ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι are always named together as "apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God" (*Sim.* ix. 15. 4). They are travelling missionaries, opening up the way; but from the context we see that even at that time they partly belonged to the past, whereas the Διδαχὴ recognises "apostles" as existing in the time of the author. This circumstance is an argument in favour of the priority of the Διδαχὴ, while the language of Hermas respecting ἀπόστολοι seems to point to a time before that of the other apostolic Fathers.

Ignatius, who uses the name not less than thirteen times); the men of this calling are in the *Διδαχὴ* directly styled *ἀπίστολοι*.

The *Διδαχὴ* gives directions as to the estimation in which these apostles (and the prophets) are to be held (xi. 3, etc.). It enjoins simple adherence to what is laid down in the gospel (*κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ante, § 3*), doubtless to the command of Christ contained in Matt. x. 42, vii. 15, etc.; such a one is to be received as the Lord Himself, but he is not to remain longer than *one* or at most two days; if he stays three days, he is a false prophet (Matt. vii. 15). When he departs he is not to take more than will suffice to keep him till his next resting-place; but if he asks for money, he is a false prophet (*ante, § 4-6*). It is plain that an "apostle" does not belong to one particular Church, but to the Church in general (comp. Harnack, *Lehre*, p. 104), for they are in reality wandering missionaries, itinerant preachers.

Next to the apostles "the *Διδαχὴ* speaks of prophets." These are not absolutely and without exception *travelling* prophets; a prophet *may* be *παρόδιος*, an itinerant prophet (xii. 2); in which case he is to be esteemed and treated as an "apostle" (chaps. xii., xiii. 1): if he does not practise what he teaches, his conduct is not worthy of Christ; or if he asks money, he is not to be listened to, he is a false prophet (xi. 8, 10, 12). But he may settle in a church (*καθίσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, xiii. 1*), and is then worthy of his food, of his support; he is to receive the first-fruits of the soil and of oxen and sheep (*ante, § 2, etc., 6*).

The third group are the *teachers*. These are not

mentioned nearly so often as the prophets; but a true teacher, *διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός*, is spoken of only in xiii. 2; and in xv. 1, 2, *διδάσκαλοι*. These stand next to the prophets.

All three groups are manifestly without possessions, and are referred to the free-will offerings of those communities in whose midst they laboured from time to time. But all apostles, prophets, and teachers occupied a position of acknowledged activity at the time when this original document was composed. Hence we are thrown back into a time when apostolic arrangements were still retained. In Antioch, before Paul and Barnabas undertook their first missionary journey, *i.e.* about 44 or 45 A.D., there were found in the Church of that place "prophets and teachers," Barnabas, Simeon, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen and Saul (Acts xiii. 1). In consequence of a revelation of the Spirit (doubtless through one of the prophets), Barnabas and Saul were sent out to labour as wandering missionaries; *i.e.*, according to the language of the *Διδαχή*, as apostles. The Acts adopt the same usage, for in xiv. 14 they also speak of the two men as "apostles." The Gentile apostle himself, in Rom. xvi. 7, calls Andronicus and Junias *ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*, whereas in the two passages, 2 Cor. viii. 23 and Phil. ii. 25, in the former of which the title "apostle" is conferred on Titus and certain others who are not named, and in the latter on Epaphroditus, this name denotes only an ambassador, a deputy. But in 1 Cor. xii. 28, etc., and Eph. iv. 11, Paul speaks first of apostles, *without* the definite article, as bearers of God's gifts and powers for the Church, secondly of prophets, and thirdly

of teachers, etc., while the enumeration in the Ephesian Epistle differs only in the circumstance that evangelists and pastors are inserted between prophets and teachers, the latter of whom seem to be identical with the *διδάσκαλοι*. The Apocalypse ii. 2 also attacks errorists who professed to be apostles and were not: *λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν, καὶ εὗρες αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς*. The *Διδαχὴ* plainly takes us back to the time shortly after the death of the last of the Twelve, when the wandering missionaries still bore the honourable name "apostle;" whereas the title was soon after restricted solely to the former Twelve and to Paul.

Apostles, prophets, and teachers belonged according to the *Διδαχὴ* to the collective Church, not to *one* community; they were not even chosen by the community. On the other hand, the *Διδαχὴ* has officers of the *communities*, by which they were chosen and called, "bishops and deacons." All that is said of the latter in xv. 1 and 2 agrees with what we learn from the New Testament records. Elders, *πρεσβύτεροι*, are not named, because in the primitive Christian time presbyter and bishop were identical; a distinction of the names existing¹ so far as the title *πρεσβύτεροι*, corresponding to the *זְבִינִי* of Israelite congregations, was originally used in Jewish Christian circles; but the title *ἐπίσκοποι*, corresponding to the antique Hellenic name of certain communal officers, was usual in Gentile Christian communities (see above, p. 164, vol. i.). As the *Διδαχὴ*, according to its inscription "for the Gentiles," was designed for Gentile Christians, it is quite natural that *πρεσ-*

¹ This identity is recognised by Hatch, *Constitution of the Primitive Church*, in certain cases.

βύτεροι should not be spoken of but rather ἐπίσκοποι, who together with the διάκονοι were numbered among the τετιμημένοι of the Churches.¹

We abide, therefore, by the position that in the primitive Christian communities by virtue of the Church's choice the labourers were only *presbyters* synonymous with *bishops and deacons*, besides the men who were distinguished by God's extraordinary spiritual gifts, namely apostles, *i.e.* travelling mission-

¹ The representation given by A. Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, p. 140, etc., comp. his ANALECTA to Hatch, p. 229, etc., appears to us more artificial and ingenious than evident or probable. The assertion that the πρεσβύτεροι of the early Christian Churches were *not officers*, but that νεώτεροι and πρεσβύτεροι were simply young and old, the latter respectable persons whose experience qualified them for counselling and governing, leaves the fact out of account that Acts xiv. 23 unquestionably speaks of an actual office and of a formal inauguration into it; while in xi. 30 it is plainly said of Church officers that the collection from Antioch was handed over to them. Besides, the passages Acts xv. 6, 22, etc., xx. 17, comp. with vv. 28 and 21, 18, clearly prove that both the πρεσβύτεροι from Ephesus, whom the apostle in ver. 28 calls ἐπίσκοποι appointed by the Holy Spirit to feed the Church, and the πρεσβύτεροι at Jerusalem who make an important decree, chap. xv., and who were present at a conference with Paul in James' presence, chap. xxi,—that such πρεσβύτεροι were in fact commissioned and authorized officials. And that the πρεσβύτεροι also in 1 Pet. v. 1, etc., are not merely aged Church members, but officers in the pastorate furnished with authority, appears both from the words ποιμάνετε τὸ—ποίμνιον, ἐπισκοποῦντες, from μὴ—κατακυριεύουσιν, etc., from the reference to ἀρχιποίμην, ver. 4, and from the fact that the Apostle Peter calls himself συμπρεσβύτερος, ver. 1. The case is different (ver. 5) with respect to the νεώτεροι as distinguished from πρεσβύτεροι, where distinction of age is obviously in view; and the same applies to 1 Tim. v. 1, it being plain from ver. 2 where women are spoken of that elders are aged persons. In like manner, Titus ii. 2-4 speaks of age in men and women, not of a calling or office. So, too, in Acts v. 6, νεώτεροι means simply younger members of the Church, as appears from the synonymous νεανίσκοι in ver. 10. On the contrary, Jas. v. 14 speaks most probably of "elders" as official men, since they are called πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

aries, prophets, and teachers as special officers. Both kinds of commissioners in the Churches were administrative officers in the first instance. Teaching, service relating to the word, was not their proper official duty; yet they were also permitted to teach when they possessed the gift for it by virtue of the freedom of speech allowed in the Church; comp. 1 Tim. v. 17. When they did not merely rule but also taught, they united two functions originally distinct in themselves.¹ The more the age advanced the rarer the free œcumenical "prophets and teachers" became. Chosen bishops and deacons came into the breach and performed the service which had belonged to the former, Διδ. xv. 1: ὑμῖν λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ (ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι) τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

The activity of the Church members in teaching gradually became an exception to the rule. It was only in the choosing of officers, in taking part in Church discipline and receiving back the penitent, that an important privilege of the laity still remained.² Another alteration took place in the transference of the Old Testament priestly idea to ecclesiastical offices.³ This change of view is often considered an

¹ Comp. Hatch, *ante*. On this account they were also doubly τιτιμημένοι or διπλῆς τιμῆς ἄξιοι, 1 Tim. v. 17.

² This privilege of the Church is presupposed and recognised when the Roman Clement undertakes to declare to the authors of the division at Corinth in case they were of a noble and amiable disposition: εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ στάσις καὶ σχίσματα, ἐχωρῶ, ἄπειμι, οὗ ἴαν βούλησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους, chap. liv.

³ A proper transference of this idea did not take place at first, but merely an *application* of the ordinances and laws of the Mosaic cultus to the persons and transactions of Christian worship. Thus e.g. Clement of Rome (to the Corinthians, chap. xl.), in appealing to the Levitical laws respecting the times, places, and persons of divine

Ebionite feature which, proceeding from Jewish Christian circles, penetrated the Gentile Christian ones. But no early Christian testimony exists on behalf of that way of thinking having been peculiar to Judaizing Christians, except the apocryphal work, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.¹ It is more

worship, only means to show that everything should be done *in order* in Christendom also, “*εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν* ;” comp. Höfling, *vom Opfer*, p. 17, etc. But in proportion as Christian and Levitical offices, acts, and arrangements were brought into parallelism, so much the more did the actual difference between them fade from consciousness, till at length the thing itself became legal and Levitical to a great extent.

¹ The treatise belonging to ancient Christianity, entitled *Αἱ διαθήκαι τῶν δώδεκα πατριαρχῶν*, is but little adapted to be a safe guide in ascertaining the state of things in the post-apostolic age, for three reasons. *First*, we are still in want of a critical genuine *text*. It is true that Sinker published an edition in 1869 based on two MSS. in the libraries of Cambridge and Oxford. But it is to be deplored that Tischendorf, who had discovered and collated a third MS. during his travels in the East, and who had purposed to give a critical elaboration of the text (*Real-Encyclopædie*, 1st ed. xx. p. 431), was prevented by death from carrying out his design. *Secondly*, the *date* of the work cannot be accurately determined. Only this much is beyond question : the book did not appear before the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus, for in Levi's legacy, or chap. iii. § 10 and 15, the destruction of the temple is unmistakably intimated ; and, on the other hand, the origin of the work with the object pursued in it, viz. to promote a disposition of mind favourable to Jesus Christ in Israel, is inconceivable after the war of Bar-Cochba. Now it is difficult to discover a definite point of time between A. D. 70 and 132 in which the composition of this book can be put with any probability. *Thirdly*, we have not yet clear knowledge respecting the spiritual home, the proper character of the production, because a sharply expressed doctrinal character cannot be extracted out of it. It is a fact that the views of scholars about its doctrinal contents waver between the farthest extremes. Kayser considers the author a complete Ebionite, *Strasburger Beiträge*, 1851 ; Ritschl, 1st ed. of the *Entstehung*, makes him Pauline ; and Hilgenfeld, a declared anti-Judaist. In consequence of Kayser's criticism, Ritschl in the 2nd ed. of his *Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche*, 1857, p. 171, etc.,

probable that the Apostle Paul's conception of Christian life and service, of Christian beneficence and self-denial as a sacrifice (Rom. xii. 1, xv. 16; Phil. ii. 17; comp. Heb. xiii. 15; 1 Pet. iii. 18), led to priestly activity and authority; a course of thought according to which the community of believers originally offering "spiritual sacrifices" must have been considered the acting priesthood. Hence the transference of the priestly idea to the Christian office, "the universal priesthood of believers," must be presupposed as a basis, so that it origin-

admitted that the author occupies the standpoint of the Nazareans. This much only is beyond doubt. First, the author is a *Christian*. In the parting discourses of Jacob's sons, along with moral admonitions which are brought home to the heart, the central-point is in the prophecies which describe with the fullest sympathy and in the most unmistakeable way, but without mentioning the name of *Jesus*, the salvation (τὸ σωτήριον), the accomplishment of the kingdom and priesthood in the Saviour, the virgin out of Judah, His mother, the Gentile apostle out of Benjamin, etc. Second, the author himself is an *Israelite*. A Gentile Christian would not have conceived the whole subject in such a way, nor would he have carried it out partly on the basis of *Genesis*, partly on that of Jewish tradition, with so much national feeling as the book presents. Third, the author is a Jewish Christian of such world-embracing heart that he is quite *sympathetic* towards Gentile Christendom (the συναγωγὰὶ τῶν ἰβνῶν, Benjamin, chap. xii. § 11), and has serene joy in the work of the Gentile apostle. That the kingdom of Judah and the priesthood of Levi are viewed as one in Christ cannot be of force on behalf of an Ebionite renewal of Levitical priestism within Christendom, since the rending of the temple veil (Benjamin, or chap. xii. § 9), the custom of the Levitical priesthood, the establishment of a new priesthood for the Gentiles (Levi, chap. iii. § 18. 8), the possession of a completed priesthood on the part of the Redeemer, which will continue for ever without succession (οὐκ ἔσται διαδοχὴ αὐτῶ ἐς γενεάς καὶ γενεάς ἕως αἰῶνος), are so strongly emphasized. In this respect the work treads in the steps of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as Dorner has rightly observed (*Lehre von der Person Christi*, 1851, i. 263); but certainly without approaching the deep thinking and clear view found in the latter.

ally applied to all, but without being Judaistic or hierarchical.¹

Another point is the appearance of a centralized government in Church offices, *i.e.* of the episcopal authority. We know that there was no distinction between bishops and elders in the time of the apostles and a considerable time after. In Clement of Rome, in Polycarp as it seems, in Hermas too, the distinction is not yet developed. Even in Irenæus, who was certainly acquainted with it, it is not at all a fixed thing, since he still uses the names ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος interchangeably (*e.g.* iv. 26, 2 and 5). The first person by whom "the bishop" is consciously separated from the presbyters, taking a high and singular position not only in idea but also in action, is Ignatius of Antioch. It would therefore be very important if we could with confidence fix precisely the date of his martyrdom, and consequently that of his Epistles. But science has not yet been fortunate enough to do it. The farther back the end of this man is put, the greater is the difficulty created by his Epistles. While Uhlhorn thought that the death of Ignatius must be put in the year 107 or 108 A.D. as the result of chronological researches (*Zeitschrift f. histor. Theol.* 1851, p. 259, etc.), Harnack has come to the conclusion that the tradition about the martyr's death under Trajan does not by any means rest on a secure foundation (*Die Zeit des Ignatius und die Chronologie des antiochenischen Bischofe*, 1878, p. 68, etc.).

As to the Ignatian Epistles,² we find, after a careful

¹ Comp. Ritschl, *Alt kath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 396, etc., and especially Höfling, *ante*, 21, etc., 33, etc., 64, etc.

² We honestly confess that we have had doubts for years as to the genuineness of these letters, of course as to the shorter recension. The

and impartial examination of their contents, that it is not a recommendation of the episcopal authority

longer recension of the Greek text, first published in the fifteenth century and containing twelve Epistles, does not come into consideration, since it is acknowledged to be a forgery resting upon interpolation and fiction. On the other hand, the smallest collection, consisting of but three Epistles in a short form (to the Ephesians, Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp), first published in a Syriac translation by Cureton, 1845 (comp. his *Corpus Ignatianum*, 1849), was declared by him, then by Bunsen (*Die drei echten und vier unechten Briefe des Ignatius*, 1847; and *Ignatius von Antiochien*, 1847), by Lipsius (Niedner's *Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.* 1856), as well as by Ritschl (*Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 403, etc.) and others, to be exclusively genuine, the four others being supposititious. But this view was opposed by Baur (*Die Ignatianischen Briefe und ihr neuester Kritiker*, 1848) and by Hilgenfeld (*Apost. Väter*, 1853, pp. 274-279), who defended the *relative* originality of the shorter seven-collection, compared with the shortest; while Uhlhorn (*Zeitschrift f. hist. Theol.* 1851, vols. i. and ii.) and others endeavoured to prove the genuineness of the seven letters, not merely comparatively but *absolutely*. Finally, Theod. Zahn (*Ignatius von Antiochien*, 1873, pp. 167-240) has conducted the argument in a literary and definitive way, to show that the Syriac recension is only an abridged form of the three letters in question. As to the main question, the genuineness of the seven Epistles to the Churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Rome, Philadelphia, Smyrna, and to Polycarp, in the shorter Greek recension, the consideration in their favour with ever-increasing weight is, that between the second decade of the second century, in which it is alleged that the Epistles were written, and about 170-175 A.D., in which the monarchical position of the episcopate was already an established fact; a point of time, an occasion, and a person cannot be found for the authorship of the letters in case they were forged. But it requires a certain self-effacement on our part to understand the personage who comes before us in the letters, with his joyousness in death, his much-enduring heroic spirit, his moral pathos, his originality full of character, and his deep humility. In his *Ignatius v. Antioch.* pp. 400-424, Zahn has said much that deserves attention in regard to this. As to the ideas of the letters about the position and authority of the episcopal office, they appear in another light when one sees in them the fundamental conception, the object and motive of the whole, than when one recognises in them merely the absolute unity of Church life as the impelling fundamental idea.

which forms their central point, that it is not the exaltation of the bishop above the college of presbyters which is the object in view ; but it is rather the union of believers among themselves, the unity of the Church that is the ruling idea.¹ The existing state of the congregations at that time furnished the ground and duty for emphasizing it. There appears to have been a strong tendency toward separation in the Churches of Asia Minor to which Ignatius was then writing. When he says that many a one *σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ*, (Phil. iii. 3), it is not without cause that he admonishes the Church in question, chap. vii. 2 : *τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε* ; comp. Smyrn. vii. 2 : *τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν*. He says very plainly in the Epistle to the Ephesians (chap. v. 3) : “ He who agrees not (with the Church) is proud, and has separated (*διέκρινεν*) himself.” In the exhortation to use *one* eucharist, Philad. chap. iv. (*σπουδάσατε μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι*, etc.), he intimates that many Church members celebrated the last supper themselves in separate conventicles. Accordingly Ignatius comes forth as “ a man perfectly prepared for unity ;” words that he applies to himself : *ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἔνωσιν κατηρτισμένος*, Philad. viii. 1. He fulfils his personal calling (*ibid.* : *ἐγὼ τὸ ἴδιον ἐποίουν*) when he opposes all division, insisting upon the complete unity of the Church. There is nothing better than peace (Eph. xiii. 2). But, inasmuch as the Church is a well-arranged whole only in connection with its appointed officers (without them there is no Church, Trall. iii. 1), Ignatius always expresses his admonitions on behalf

¹ This has been not only proved by Zahn, *Ignatius v. Ant.* p. 424, etc., especially p. 440, etc., but is also acknowledged by Hatch, *Organization of the Primitive Church*, etc.

of unity in such a way as to require subjection to the bishop, the presbyters, and deacons.¹ He is convinced that "whosoever doeth anything apart from the bishop, the presbytery, and the deacons, is not pure in his conscience" (Trall. vii. 2). But he does not always name the three together. He often speaks only of the bishop and presbyters (*e.g.* Eph. ii. 2; Trall. xiii. 2; Magnes. vii. 1), and certainly very often of the bishop alone (*e.g.* Eph. iv. etc., and elsewhere). The one bishop is the head, the personification, as it were, of ecclesiastical unity. The writer is penetrated and animated with this idea so strongly that he does not hesitate to set forth positions like the following, that border too nearly upon the deification of man: "Do ye all follow the bishop; whatsoever he shall approve of is well-pleasing unto God, to the end that whatever is done may be safe (*ἄσφαλές*) and sound" (Smyrn. viii.). "He who knoweth the bishop is honoured of God; he who doeth anything without the knowledge of the bishop serveth the devil" (*ibid.* chap. ix.).

With all this, however, it is to be observed that Ignatius intends by such language to make clear nothing more than the *religious* motive of obedience and honour to the bishop; while he sees in the deacons an image of Christ, and compares the presbytery to a council of God (comp. Zahn, *Ignatius*, p. 444, etc.). It is true that numerous expressions in the Epistles imply the official existence of *one* bishop

¹ Philad. vii. 1: Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις. Smyrn. viii. 1: Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέψετε, ὡς θεοῦ ἐντολήν. Comp. Polyk. vi. 1: Οἱ ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέρῳ, διακόνοις.

in distinction from presbyters, both in Antioch itself and in other Syrian Churches, as also in a number of congregations in Asia Minor (Zahn, *ante*, p. 295, etc.); but it is by no means assumed that an official separation of bishop and elders was already found in all Churches, particularly not in Rome, as we learn from Ignatius' Epistle to the Romans. It should also be observed that the episcopate, according to the letters, is a *Church office* whose authority is confined to the *one* city church in which it exists, not at all possessing importance and authority in relation to a number of communities or the whole Church, as was the case after the last quarter of the second century. In short, Ignatius' episcopate is an office over one community, not as yet over *the Church*. Moreover, his bishops are not successors of the apostles; rather does he enjoin a *ὑποτάσσεσθαι τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Trall. ii. 2).

These relations, based on fact, and the ideas of Ignatius relating to the Church which we have expounded, have so little of an Ebionite complexion, that on the contrary he is distinguished by an anti-Jewish style of thought, even by a direct polemic against all *κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμόν ζῆν*. Hence no primitive proof remains on behalf of the assertion that the hierarchical organization of the Church, the idea of a priesthood, the monarchical partition of offices with the bishop at the head, is of anti-Pauline and Judaistic origin. This is seen apart from the pseudo-Clementine romance with its universal bishop James at Jerusalem.¹ On the contrary, the idea of Christ's

¹ Baur combines the Ignatian Epistles with the Clementines, the latter being a pseudonymous production, and in spirit wholly

Church generally, as well as its realization, especially its more complete and close arrangement, attained to its development in Pauline circles and on the soil of autonomous Christendom. When the Church was powerfully impressed with the need of an assured and consolidated unity, after the flourishing period of gnosis; when Christians strove to secure unity of doctrine and of the canon, unity of ritual, actual realization of the *ἐκκλησία καθολικὴ*, it was universally felt at the time that in respect to the constitution of the Church there was need of an episcopate as the practical instrument of such unity, a thing proceeding entirely from within, in an independent way, without being externally borrowed from Jewish Christianity. Hence it came to pass that the great majority of the Church consisting of Gentile Christians toward the end of the second century, though without any leaning toward Jewish Christianity and without any agreement with it, which idea is entirely fabulous, were guided from within to a standpoint allied to the theocracy of the Old Testament, legal and hierarchical—a standpoint reached from within by development of the Church's own nature, as also by the necessary counter-impulse to Gnostic exaggeration and distortion of Paulinism. In this result we must certainly recognise a deviation from apostolic Church order.

different from the former, *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed. p. 275, etc. In this he is followed by Hilgenfeld, *Die Apost. Väter*, p. 270, etc.

SECOND SECTION.

DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE.

A. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

In this department the newly-discovered document, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, is important, but not by its containing a formulated confession of faith. To say that the use of the prayers at the last supper and the baptismal formula appeared sufficient in the view of the writer "to establish the Christian character of him who lays claim to the name of Christian" (A. Harnack, *Lehre der 12 Apostel*, p. 90), rests upon a hasty conclusion. Yet the *Διδαχὴ* reveals important parts of a faith specifically Christian and of the inner life, which are supposed to belong to every Christian. According to the prayers, believers are above all partakers of everlasting life, the gift of Jesus Christ. They give thanks (at the last supper) mainly for "the life" (ix. 2: ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἣν ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου). How highly they value this gracious gift of everlasting life is perfectly clear from the prayer after the Agape (x. 2: εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι—ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἣς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου. § 3: ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου). Doubtless the conception ζωὴ in the ethical instruction relating to "the way of life and of death," chaps. i.-v., refers to the new life full of everlasting power, promised and bestowed by Christ. Even in xvi. 1 the admonition: γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν, must likewise allude to the new life given by God in

Christ, the promised life everlasting; comp. xvi. 6: *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν*. It was the fundamental feeling of believers in the primitive Christian Churches that Christ "brought life and immortality to light" (*φωτίσας ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν*, 2 Tim. i. 10). Even among unbelieving people and mockers of the Greeks, the impression they had of the invincible certainty of that eternal life which dwelt in Christians was overpowering. Lucian reflects this impression when he says in his work, *Περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς*, chap. xiii. (ed. Bekker, vol. ii. p. 94), of the Christians: *Πεπεύκασιν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὄλον ἀθάνατοι ἔσσεσθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, παρ' ὃ καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἐκόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί*. What Lucian asserts in a work written about A.D. 170 agrees well with what occurs in the Teaching of the Apostles. We see that Christ's resurrection and the article "An Everlasting Life" were not merely dogma, but an innermost life-element of the Christians at an early period, a foundation-stone of "the gospel" and of the living tradition of Christian faith.

This fundamental conception of the "life" revealed and given to believers by Christ leads us to entertain a high idea of the Redeemer's person and work.

The Redeemer Jesus Christ (once only, in ix. 4, called by the complete name, but oftener *Ἰησοῦς* only) is mentioned in the liturgical prayers manifestly handed down from apostolic times and preserved in fixed form, *Ἰησοῦς ὁ παῖς σου*, ix. 2, 3, x. 2, 3); once simply *ὁ παῖς σου*, i.e. the Servant of God, the Mediator of divine revelation; David also being called *παῖς σου*, ix. 2. In other passages of the document, especially in many where the writer speaks

personally, the Saviour has the title *ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν*, *ὁ κύριος*, or *κύριος* merely. Such appellations designate Him beyond doubt as possessor of divine majesty and authority by virtue of His exaltation. The name *κύριος* in the document plainly involves a confession of the deity of Christ, which is evident from the application of Zechariah's words (xiv. 5) to His return: for the promise runs thus in the prophet according to the Septuagint: *ἥξει κύριος ὁ θεός μου, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ*. Zechariah speaks of Jehovah's coming. The author, applying the words to Jesus Christ, says in xvi. 7: *ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ*, and puts the coming of the Redeemer "on the clouds of heaven" (comp. the last words of the chapter) in place of the coming of God Himself. The conception *κυριότης* (iv. 1: *ὅθεν ἢ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν*) denotes the divine, ruling dignity of Christ. With this agrees the baptismal formula (vii. 1), baptism into the name of the Father and *of the Son* and of the Holy Spirit (comp. vii. 3), including not only confession of the Father, Son, and Spirit, but having also in view redeeming and salvation-bringing communion with Father, Son, and Spirit, and therefore involving a confession of the deity of Christ. The very circumstance of the world-deceiver, *ὁ κοσμοπλάνος*, *i.e.* Antichrist, being about to appear as if he were the Son of God (*ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ*, xvi. 4), appears at least to presuppose a near reference to the deity of Christ. The true humanity of the Redeemer is only intimated by the circumstance that the descent of Jesus from David is attested in the figure of the *ἰγία ἄμπελος Δαβίδ* applied to Jesus in ix. 2.

But while there are plain notices respecting Christ's person, the *Διδαχή* has only indirect utter-

ances about His work. Doubtless "the holy vine" of David points to the blood of Jesus shed on the cross and His atoning death, the Church giving thanks for the blessed cup in the Eucharist, ix. 2: "We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of Thy servant David, which Thou hast made known to us through Thy servant Jesus." The blessed wine, the blood of the vine, is partaken of as the blood of Jesus Christ the offspring of David, in a mysterious act, such expressions being based upon the Lord's own words: "I am the true vine," etc., John xv. 1, etc., compared with Ps. lxxx. 9, etc., especially ver. 16. The somewhat strange expression in the old traditional prayer: *ὄν ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ*, may be explained perhaps by the probable conjecture that the prayer was originally composed in the Aramæan dialect, and that the preposition *בְּ יֵשׁוּעַ עַבְדְּךָ* was rendered by the Greeks *διὰ Ἰησοῦ* instead of *ἐν Ἰησοῦ*. The arrangement that believers should fast every Wednesday and Friday (viii. 1: *τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν*) alludes without doubt to the passion of Jesus. Besides, the fact of His resurrection as a guarantee of ours is presupposed, partly in the phrase "resurrection of the dead" (xvi. 6), partly in the believing experience of "the life" and in the consolatory hope of immortality which we owe to Christ (ix. 3, x. 3). The keeping of Sunday (*κυριακὴ κυρίου*, xiv. 1) by religious gatherings and services, with the Agape and Eucharist, points at all events to Christ's resurrection on the first day of the week.¹

¹ It must be allowed that in the *Διδαχὴ* "the death and resurrection of Christ are not mentioned" (Harnack, *Lehre*, 162. 6), so far as an express mention is desired; but the indirect references to both make sufficient amends for the omission.

With respect to the doctrine of the *Διδαχὴ* about salvation, we find nothing more than isolated hints. Conversion takes place by repentance on the one hand, by faith on the other. The document never speaks expressly of "the first penitence" preceding baptism, as it is called in ancient times. As confession of sin is several times inculcated on believers (iv. 14, xiv. 1), it was natural to assume that self-examination, confession of sin, and turning from "the way of death" (i. 1, v. 1, etc.) should have been made an indispensable requisite on the part of him who wished to join the Church for the first time and asked for baptism. Faith is made most prominent as an essential element in personal Christianity and a condition of happiness (xvi. 2); hence the Christian state is a state of faith; comp. x. 2 (*εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι—ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας . . .*). But it is clear from xvi. 5, where deliverance is promised to the *ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν*, that faith is not a mere assent to the truth, but confidence and trust in God. The Christian state of certain slaves (iv. 10) being described in such a way that they *ἐπὶ (τὸν αὐτὸν) θεὸν ἐλπίζουσι*, it is all the more clear that the author of the document takes faith to be a trust in God which is full of hope, reminding the reader of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

While conversion resting upon repentance and faith presupposes a moral turning of the heart to God, the *Διδαχὴ* does not consider it to be a mere human resolution or an exclusively personal act, but goes deeper and recognises in it a divine initiative; God *calling* man, bestowing upon him *the Holy Spirit*, and taking him into communion with Himself. Chapter iv. 10 speaks of vocation: "God does not come to

call (men) according to the repute of the person (*καλέσαι*), but those whom the Spirit has prepared" (*ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοίμασεν*). Hence the Holy Spirit prepares souls for reception into the Church of God. It is only those whom the Holy Spirit has prepared by His gracious influence (comp. *gratio præniciens*) that God calls to a state of actual conversion, by virtue of which "the holy name of God dwells in their hearts" (*οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν*, x. 2).

The community is formed out of individual believers (iv. 14, xi. 11), the Church of God, which is scattered to "the ends of the earth" (ix. 4, x. 5). It receives through Christ, by means of the Eucharist, gifts of grace: "spiritual nourishment and drink and everlasting life" (x. 4: *ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, i.e. the spiritual food and drink which procure everlasting life). It need hardly be remarked that according to the *Διδαχή* the sacrament is a thing which is not merely human but is also divine, an act by which God bestows grace (*χαρίζεται*), and that spiritual nourishment and drink unto everlasting life are procured along with bread and wine. By using the means of grace on the one hand; by watching and prayer (xvi. 1, etc.), together with earnestness in sanctification (comp. i.-v. as to the way of life and death, especially iv. 13, etc.); on the other hand, by mutual brotherly admonition (iv. 2) and edification (xv. 2) must the believer make moral progress in order that he may always come nearer the goal of inward perfection (*τελειωθῆναι*, xvi. 2; comp. x. 5, *ὑπομένειν ἐν τῇ πίστει*, xvi. 5).

Watchfulness and constant readiness are so much the more necessary, as we know not at what hour the

Lord comes (xv. 1). It is plain that the expectation of His coming in the near future filled the souls of the Christians at that day. The conception of the end of time (ἔσχαται ἡμέραι, xvi. 3, etc.) is based in part on the eschatological discourses of Jesus in Matt. xxiv. etc., and partly on 2 Thess. ii. with Rev. xiii. Many false prophets and deceivers should appear, so that believers themselves would be seduced, and love be turned into hatred and persecution. Then shall the world-deceiver (ὁ κοσμοπλάνας, Anti-christ) appear, giving out that he is God's son, working signs and wonders, obtaining power over the world. Then shall the creations of men come into the fire of trial.¹ Those who continue in the faith will be saved from the accursed one.² Then shall appear the "signs of truth" in opposition to Anti-christ with his godless signs and lying wonders (§ 4). The last of these signs is the resurrection of the dead, not of all, but only of the holy. This seems to point to a kingdom of Christ on earth.³

¹ xv. 5: Τότε ἤξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας. Hilgenfeld, *Evangeliorum—quæ supersunt*, 1884, p. 103, conjectures κρίσις instead of κτίσις, which cannot be adopted because of εἰς τ. πύρωσιν τ. δοκ. Funk in *Quartalschrift*, 1884, p. 393, translates "the race of men;" Sabatier, *ante*, p. 66, *l'humanité*; Harnack, *Lehre*, p. 62, "the creation of men" = ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις. In our opinion κτίσις means here, as often in profane Greek, the founding, the doings of men. The whole clause appears to us an allusion to and reminiscence of 1 Cor. iii. 13, etc. Πύρωσις τῆς δοκιμασίας is an abstract expression for what is enunciated more simply in apostolic language by (τὸ ἔργον) τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει.

² The MS. has ῥα' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταβίματος. Bryennios, p. 54, note 8, and after him Harnack, understand κατάβημα of Christ, whom those offending against Him regard as a "curse,"—one accursed. Funk conjectures ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κάτω θέματος = ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Few will see this. We agree here with the conjecture of Hilgenfeld, *ante*, that ὑπ' should be read for ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, etc.

³ Harnack observes, *Lehre*, p. 166, under 7, "There is no special

Then shall the Lord come upon the clouds of heaven before the eyes of the world.

From this survey it will be seen that the *Διδαχὴ* contains a number of weighty facts in the scheme of salvation, and of truths embraced in the apostolic preaching; and though they are not formulated in exact conceptions and in the manner of a confession of faith, they are still given in substance, to some extent indirectly. It is a witness for the common Christian faith which existed in the Churches of that early time in a living state, as it had been handed down. What this document, which in our opinion belongs at the latest to the beginning of the second century, if not to the end of the first A.D., presents, is not a Judaistic character, as Harnack rightly proves (*ante*, p. 166, No. 6, etc.), but a Gentile Christian one; according to the inscription it was intended *τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, and expressly warns against the eating of flesh offered to idols, which is a worship of dead gods (vi. § 3).¹ It is also un-

mention of a kingdom of glory on earth." On the contrary, we have to say that wherever two resurrections are spoken of in Scripture and in the Fathers, a kingdom of glory on earth is also implied, before the universal judgment and the creation of the new world. When, therefore, the announcement is made, *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, οὐ πάντων δέ*, etc., and also when the *βασιλεία* of God is mentioned (in x. 5), which He has prepared for His Church, the expressions are based on the apostolic statements in 1 Cor. xv. 23, etc.; Apoc. xx. 4, etc. Thus it is implied that there is to be a kingdom of glory before the general resurrection and judgment.

¹ Sabatier, *La Didaché*, 1885, asserts absolutely that the Teaching of the Apostles has a "Palestinian," *i.e.* a Jewish Christian stamp. It is plain that on the one hand he undervalues the positively Christian element which is partly expressed and partly intimated: on the other hand, the open opposition to Jewish elements (viii. 1, etc.), as also the constant end in view for the

mistakeable that the doctrine of Christ and apostolic truth were no longer preserved in a state altogether genuine and pure, but that they had been clouded and disfigured as well as weakened by self-righteous representations (comp. the word of Christ in Matt. vii. 12, with *Αιδ.* i. 2, where the former is negatively transformed and weakened, besides vi. 2, and other expressions).

After the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles comes the (First) *Epistle of the Roman Clement to the Corinthians*, a work which is also illuminated by "the evening red of apostolic splendour,"¹ but testifying to a form of life grown pale. A higher rank belongs of right to this treatise, not merely on account of the comparative certainty of its composition by an alleged disciple of the apostles, as the letter of a Church such as that of Rome, not merely because of its high antiquity (the last decade of the first century),² but also on account of its internal

benefit of Gentile Christians, not merely in the title but also in the contents themselves. So much must be conceded, that what is communicated came forth originally from primitive apostolic preaching and ethics, as is clearly seen.

¹ Jacobi, *Die kirchliche Lehre von der Tradition und heiligen Schrift*, 1847, p. 44.

² That the author of our Epistle, i.e. the so-called first Epistle, was the Roman Clement is so well attested that it has been always admitted, and but seldom doubted, on grounds that are weak, as by Baur (*Paulus*, 1st ed. 472, note, 2nd ed. ii. p. 68, etc., also *Die Ignatianischen Briefe*, 1848, p. 127, etc.), Schwegler (*Nachapostolische Zeit*, ii. 125, etc.), and by Volkmar, *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1856, p. 287, etc. It may certainly be suggested with propriety, as Hilgenfeld, *Die apost. Väter*, 1853, p. 29, says, that its authenticity cannot be spoken of inasmuch as the Epistle itself makes no pretension to the name of Clement. But the tradition of his authorship goes so far back (even to the middle of the second century), and is so constant as well as uniform, that it has the same weight with the testimony

character and value, which have been recognised from very old times down to our own time, with few exceptions; and have even procured for it the authority of a public ecclesiastical document to be

of the work itself. Schwegler had derived, from the indubitable circumstance that there are numerous pseudo-Clementine works, a suspicion against the present Epistle also; and Bunsen, *Ignatius und seine Zeit*, 1847, had carried this *ad absurdum* by the answer: because there are pseudo-Isidorian, pseudo-Platonic, pseudo-Virgilian writings, we must consider all that bears the name of Isidore, Plato, and Virgil to be spurious. Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 1st ed. p. 283, etc., has triumphantly defended the Epistle's authenticity; and even within the school of Baur it is admitted by Zeller, *Theolog. Jahrb.* 1842, p. 61, etc., and Köstlin, *ibid.* 1850, p. 247, etc. Hilgenfeld, *Apost. Väter*, p. 96, etc., has advanced an argument against Clement's authorship, that the Epistle is essentially Pauline; and there is a weighty anti-Pauline tradition, according to which Clement was the confidential disciple and immediate successor of Peter in Rome, opposed to that which he calls the Petro-Pauline one, so that Clement must have stood on the side of Peter, and can hardly have been the writer. This suspicion has been deprived of all weight by Lipsius' critical examination (*De Clementis Rom. ep. ad Cor.* 1853, p. 166, etc.) of "the Petrine legend," showing that the latter passed out of the pseudo-Clementine literature into the Latin tradition. It appears to us that an excessive and credulous love for the pseudo-Clementines, in which Hilgenfeld has elsewhere put too much trust, has blinded his eyes in the present case. As to the *date*, we may briefly remark here that investigations of the Epistle (Rothe, Bunsen, Hilgenfeld, Gundert, *Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.* 1853, p. 643; Lipsius, p. 137, etc.; Zahn, *Hirt des Hermas*, 1868, p. 44, etc.; A. Harnack, *Clementis rom. epistolæ*, 1876, Proleg. lvi. etc.) have all arrived at the same result as formerly Cotelier, Tillemont, and others, viz. 93-96 A.D. Volkmar's assertion (*ante*), that the letter may have been written about 120 A.D., categorical though it appears, rests on a weak foundation. It is now pretty generally allowed that it was written in the year 95 or 96. Since 1875 the learned world possesses the Epistle entire in Bryennios' edition, chap. lvii. (end) to chap. lxiv. (beginning) having been lost till then. It has now sixty-five chapters, particularly the fine prayer in lix.-lxi., not to mention the valuable aid which the Constantinopolitan MS. has rendered to the criticism of the text.

read in churches. Eusebius, in his *Hist. eccles.* iii. 16, calls it *μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία (ἐπιστολή)*, not without reason. It is, in fact, a precious Epistle, proceeding right out of life and tending to promote life, written with warmth and heartiness, instructive and edifying, a jewel of Christian antiquity, out of which there speaks "a soul full of harmony and clearness."¹ On the breaking out of differences in the Corinthian Church, which had led to the deposition of some pious elders through the intrigues of ambitious partisans, the Roman Church addresses the sister one at Corinth, and forcibly urges it with heartfelt sympathy to repentance and reformation, to humility and mutual conciliation, to peaceableness and brotherly love, to the keeping of ecclesiastical order, and to diligence in good works. The leading motive to such conduct is prominently set forth as the will of God and the holy vocation of Christians, the example of Christ who humbled Himself, but especially the near approach of the Lord's coming and His kingdom, which it can only be the privilege of His faithful servants to enjoy.

The chief question for us is this: What doctrinal character does the Epistle present? A subordinate question is: Is the author to be reckoned among Gentile Christians? The latter is commonly assumed. On the contrary, Gundert in the *Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.* 1853, p. 651, concludes from the praise of the primitive Fathers in chap. xxxii. that the writer must have been born an Israelite; but the passage contains nothing whatever that a believing Gentile Christian could not have said as well, on the basis of the Old Testament Scriptures. The pre-

¹ Dorner, *Lehre von der Person Christi*, i. 136.

vailing assumption is that the doctrinal character of the Epistle is Pauline—a position combated by the school of Baur. Köstlin in particular has asserted (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1850, p. 247) that the Epistle cannot have come out of the Pauline circle, because it shows that Petrine Jewish Christianity had the upper hand in Rome at that time. Schwegler, though putting the Epistle mainly into the Pauline series, still regards it as a mediating accommodation to Jewish Christianity, the intention being to bring together opposites in the apostles Paul and James, the *πίστις* and the *ἔργα*, by an external connecting link, so that the work has a “washy,” characterless stamp. After an attentive and impartial perusal, we cannot discover a single obvious trace of regard to Jewish Christian antitheses, or any side glance at the relation between Gentile and Jewish Christians. Rather does the Epistle give one the impression, partly that the Corinthian errors had no national, or if we may venture to say so, no confessional colouring; partly that the opposition between the Gentile and Jewish Christian tendencies was no longer visible in the Roman Church. The fundamental view of Christianity which lies at the basis of the author’s admonitions, as also the mode of thinking in the Roman Church of that day, in whose name Clement took up his pen,¹ appears from what we are about to say. In plain words he confesses “redemption by the blood of the Lord for all who believe

¹ This point of view is justly emphasized by Köstlin (*Theol. Jahrb.*) in declaring the Epistle as a Church letter to be an authentic document attesting the standpoint of the majority in Rome. But from what we have observed we draw a conclusion opposite to his.

and hope in God" (chap. xii. § 7);¹ still further, he says: "Now Jacob's posterity became great not for their own sake, or for their works, or for the righteous deeds which they had done, but through God's will. And we also being called by His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom or knowledge or piety, or the works which we have done in holiness of heart, but by that faith (οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν δικαιούμεθα — ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως) by which Almighty God has justified all men from the beginning" (chap. xxxii. § 3, etc.). Though the former position is nearly parallel to Peter's saying in 1 Pet. i. 18, etc., it is all the more certain that the latter, which teaches salvation by faith exclusive of works, is purely Pauline, even with respect to the Old Testament conception of the way of salvation.² According to the words quoted it cannot certainly be assumed that a Mosaic legal righteousness was in Clement's mind, as Köstlin supposes (see *ante*) when he asserts in definite terms, that not only the moral law, but the Mosaic law itself, is represented as perpetually valid; for no one can understand the passages in that case if he considers them in connection with what immediately follows (xli. liv.) — the very passages

¹ The red sign in the window of Rahab signified: ὅτι διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου λύτρωσις ἔσται πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, chap. xii. *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, rec. Dressel, Lips. 1857; *Clementis rom. epp. ed. de Gebhardt*, Harnack, 1876, p. 26.

² That the latter position is a genuine Pauline one is admitted not only by Lipsius, *De Clementis rom. epist.* 1855, p. 82; Ritschl, *Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 275; by Engelhardt, *Christenthum Justin's des Märtyrers*, 1878, p. 396, and elsewhere; but even by Hilgenfeld, *Ap. Väter*, p. 86; Pfeleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 409 (a strict Pauline turn), and others.

on which the hazardous assertion rests (chaps. xl. and liii.).

Nowhere does Clement in the Epistle subject Christians to the Mosaic law, nowhere does he assert the maintenance of Judaism, nowhere does he directly contradict the Pauline doctrine of faith, nowhere does he put together externally merely *πίστις καὶ ἔργα* as the way of salvation. In every place he requires not Levitical and legal righteousness, but *Christian* virtue, inculcating withal the love that produces works, without deriving them so clearly and fundamentally as Paul does from faith as its fruits and the manifestations of its life.¹

As to the *death of Jesus*, Ritschl does not apprehend Clement correctly when he supposes (2nd ed. p. 281, etc.) that he perceives in the death of Jesus nothing but an act of humility and patience, a moral example, not one of redemption. He sees in it not the establishment of a new *relation* to God, but only the occasion of a new *condition* into which man enters with respect to God. It is clear enough from the passages themselves that Clement recognises the death of Christ as assuredly a redemptive and

¹ In order to show that Clement is not quite correct in handling the Pauline system of doctrine when he speaks of justification by faith or by works, though he is Pauline in the main, Lipsius adduces in § 68, etc., among other expressions, chap. xiii., where it is said, *ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην*. But this rests on a misapprehension. The words in question belong still to the Old Testament language in Jeremiah, comp. 1 Sam. ii. 10, and therefore they have a different sense to that which Lipsius supposes. This much is correct, that Clement conceives of faith itself as an ethical process. Whether, therefore, it be quite appropriate to say that according to Clement, *non opera fide sed fides operibus continentur*, or that his doctrine of faith and works "smacks of Judaism," p. 69, we must doubt.

atoning act, for example, chap. xxi. 6: τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν, οὗ τὸ αἶμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη, ἐντραπῶμεν chap. xlix. 6: διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν ἔσχευ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τὸ αἶμα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός — καὶ τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν; comp. Rom. v. 8—vii. 4: Ἀτενίσσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γινώμεν ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ θεῷ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθὲν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ἐπήνεγκεν. The words respecting a change of mind do not at all compel us to assume that Clement wishes to take back what he has said here; on the contrary, the idea of substitution must be admitted in these expressions all the more confidently, because the same is contained in the words of the 49th chapter through several variations. If, as Lipsius himself allows, the notion of substitution cannot be avoided here, it is much more surely in the other utterances. The death of Jesus as an atoning fact works, according to Clement, the true repentance which receives the forgiveness of sins in faith. It is true that Clement insists very strongly and in ever new turns of expression upon Christian virtue, love, humility, good works, and founds his requirement of them not merely by referring to the redemption effected by Christ, His example and command (xiii. 49), but also by an appeal to the will of God. But that coincides with the occasion of the letter and its practical purpose. Though the Epistle departs in many ways from the sharp Pauline doctrine in its hortatory parts, yet in its expression of justification by faith, of the substitutionary character of Jesus' death, and in the usually typical and allegorical use

of the Old Testament, the Pauline spirit appears so unmistakeably, that one can surely venture to say, Clement shows himself a Pauline disciple. He sets the apostle high enough, and uses his authority in order to make an impression on the Corinthians by appealing to him and his letter (chap. xlvii.). Not only do Ritschl and Thiersch (*ap. Zeit*, p. 347, etc.), but also Hilgenfeld, Gundert, Lipsius, Engelhardt, acknowledge the genuine Pauline basis of the Epistle's doctrine. And this surely establishes the fact, since it is a Church letter, that the *Roman Church*, at the close of the first century, so far from being attached to Ebionism, or even approaching it, had on the contrary a Pauline tendency. The breach between the Gentile and Jewish Christians was past, Judaistic strivings had ceased, there was no more talk of opposition between Peter and Paul, but the two apostles were considered a united pair, chap. v. Still more; that breach between them which has been assumed can never have been established before (comp. Gundert, *ante*, 1854, p. 484, etc.; Lipsius, *ante*, p. 126, etc.). Moreover, Judaism could not have prevailed in Corinth at that time any more than in Rome. A contrast between Pauline and Jewish Christianity could not even have existed. The Corinthian parties spoken of in the letter were Pauline Christians; and the whole Church did homage to the Apostle of the Gentiles by whom it was founded, chap. xlvii. The question there had nothing to do with an antagonism between Peter and Paul; the former Petrine, Pauline, and Apollos parties had all disappeared and were known only by Paul's Epistle. There is no trace of a Judaistic element at that time; and the letter of the Roman Church unmistakeably presupposes the exist-

ence of faith and doctrine alike among the Roman and Corinthian Christians. Hence the Epistle of Clement affords an irrefragable testimony in favour of a mode of thought and doctrine essentially Pauline in these two important Churches of Christendom before the end of the first century.

The so-called *Second Epistle* of Clement is not an Epistle, nor does it belong to the Roman Clement or proceed from the time when he lived. This was perceived long ago.¹ Since its publication by Bryennios, which appeared in a complete form for the first time in 1875, it has been put beyond doubt that it is nothing but a homily, the oldest sermon with which we are yet acquainted. It contains no less than twenty chapters, instead of the twelve that we had before. The unknown author calls his address at the close, chap. xix. § 1, an ἔντευξις (exhortation, admonition) εἰς τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, and designates himself as one that ἀναγινώσκων ἐν ὑμῖν. When he exhorts, in chap. xvii. § 3: ὅταν εἰς οἶκον ἀπαλλαγῶμεν, μνημονεύωμεν τῶν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνταλάματων, etc., it is clear that he has in view the return of the worshipping congregation in which he appears

¹ So early as 1698 the learned German, J. E. Grabe, living in England, *Spicilegium ss. patrum*, i. 268, conjectured that the work in question is the fragment of a homily. This view was approved in the first and second editions of the present work (1851, 1857), and by Hefele also, *Pater ap.* 3rd ed. p. xxxix., as well as Hilgenfeld, *Ap. Väter*, p. 111. Yet the last-named afterwards hazarded the conjecture, *N. Test.* fasc. i. p. 39, that the work is nothing but that which Bishop Soter of Rome, 167–175, addressed to the Corinthians, according to the statement of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23, § 10). This hypothesis was also adopted by Harnack, *Patres app.* i. 1875, Proleg. xci. All this is now set aside, since full light has been thrown upon the work by the appearance of the complete text.

as a speaker, to their homes. The author is unquestionably a Gentile by birth, and addresses converted Gentiles. He betrays a decidedly anti-Jewish disposition, when it is said, applying the prophecy of Isa. liv. 1 to the Gentile Church, “our people seemed desolate and forsaken of God, whereas now having believed we are more than those who seemed to have God” (πλείονες ἐγενόμεθα τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν θεόν), chap. ii. § 3, which means more numerous than the Church of Israel—an expression that shows a mean opinion of the Jewish people and the value of their piety. All the higher is the author’s view of Christ, for in § 1, etc., he puts forward the principle, “We ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God, as of the judge of quick and dead. We ought not to think meanly of our salvation;” “Him who has redeemed us we should not merely call Lord, Lord, but confess Him with upright obedience and holy conversation,” chap. iv. § 1, etc. The entire homily insists upon practical Christianity, but on the ground of redemption by Christ, originating in God’s mercy.¹

On the other hand, the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas* is a primitive document actually proceeding out of the circle of the apostolic Fathers. Like Clement’s first Epistle, it does not itself give the author’s name; the Alexandrians Clement and Origen are the first

¹ This production is said to betray an Ebionite way of thinking by Schwegler (*ante*, i. 448, etc.), who had, it is true, a predecessor of the same opinion in Schneckenburger, *Evangelium der Ägypter*, 1834; but Ebionism only in such a way that there must be “a combating of Ebionism within Ebionism” (p. 454), *i.e.* a wooden poker. The arguments adduced on this behalf have already been thoroughly refuted by Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 1st ed. p. 295, etc., 2nd ed. p. 286, etc., who shows that the ethics of the work rest not only on the authority of the Mosaic law but upon the gospel, and reminding the

that call him Barnabas. To specify the work as „pseudonymous” with Harnack, *Patres apost.* i. 1875, p. xlvi., and with Engelhardt, *Christenthum Justin's*, p. 375, “pseudo-Barnabas,” is without cause, since it has not a single passage indicating that Barnabas is the writer; comp. Riggerbach, *Der sogen. Brief des Barnabas*, Program. 1873, p. 4. It is acknowledged by all inquirers, even by Roman Catholic scholars, that Barnabas could not have written the letter (e.g. Hug, Hefele, *Das Sendschreiben des Ap. Barnabas*, 1840, p. 147, etc.; Funk, *Patres apost.* 5th ed. 1878, Proleg. iv. etc.). As to its date, the production was written at the earliest soon after the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by Titus (70); at the latest, shortly before the second Roman-Jewish war under Hadrian (before 132). In chap. iv. (end) and chap. xvi. the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple are mentioned, and that in such a way as to lead to the pretty certain conclusion of the events having happened not long before. Besides, the constant emergence of eschatology and millenarianism points to the nearness of the apostolic time.

The fundamental character of this Epistle consists in its opposition to Judaism. Hilgenfeld's observation, *Apost. Väter*, p. 37, that the high antiquity of

reader that the antithesis of *αἰὼν οὗτος* and *μέλλων*, as well as asceticism and repentance, are not in themselves Ebionite. Hilgenfeld, *Apost. Väter*, p. 118, etc., expressed the same opinion. In the meantime, it must be conceded that the homily contains a moral weakening of Christianity, deviating far from the apostolic doctrine. For this reason Engelhardt, *Christenthum Justin's*, p. 401, etc., agrees with the date proposed by Harnack, *Zeitschrift für K. Gesch.* 1876, i. 264, etc., 329, etc., only in the sense of its being brought down far within the limits of Irenæus' lifetime.

the work shows itself in this disputed question about the relation of Christianity to the law, is correct. In its doctrinal part, chaps. i.—xvii., apart from its beginning and end, we hardly find a chapter in which that contrariety is not expressed partly by a typical explanation of Old Testament occurrences and arrangements, referring them to Christ and the New Testament, partly by express polemics. The author warns his readers against their attaching themselves as proselytes to Mosaism;¹ and he proposes to further their faith and knowledge (*γνώσις*) by way of supporting this warning. This *γνώσις* consists in seeing that the New Testament as the true and perfect one had been already announced and prepared for in the Old, inasmuch as, on the one hand, ordinances of the law, such as precepts about food, the Sabbath, circumcision, sacrifices, but especially the rite of the feast of Atonement (chaps. x., xv. 7–9), are types of Christ, His sufferings, and His commandments; on the other, the *prophets* already declared how vain and displeasing to God were the fasts and sacrifices of the Jews (chap. iii. 4), yea, how in the course of the history of the old covenant, *e.g.* when Moses brake the ten tables, Israel already lost the covenant (iv. 13, etc.), all of which has now been fulfilled by the appearance of Christ and by the rejection of the Jews at the destruction of Jerusalem (iv. 16).

¹ Chap. iii. conclusion: God has given us His revelation beforehand concerning all things, that we should not come as proselytes to their law: ἵνα μὴ προσηρωσώμεθα ὡς ἐπήλυτοι τῷ ἐκείνων νόμῳ. We owe to Tischendorf and the Sinaitic Bible MS. the Greek text of the first four chapters, which we had before only in an old Latin translation, chap. iv. 6: Ἐπι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς—προσίχειν νῦν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ μὴ ὀμειοῦσθαί τισιν ἐπισωρεύοντας ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, λέγοντας ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἐκείνων καὶ ἡμῶν ἐστίν.

By the author's assertions that the law in its literal sense was from the beginning of no value, that we Christians alone have the right covenant, circumcision, the Sabbath, that what the Jews have, apart from the Church of Christ, is displeasing to God, he goes far beyond the Apostle Paul, who constantly and expressly recognised the divine authority of Mosaism in respect to the pre-Christian age. In short, by such systematic carrying out of allegorical and typical Scripture interpretation (*γνώσις*), a near approach is made to the dualistic Gnostic view, but without actually overpassing the limits which separate doctrine and doctrinal error (Ritschl, 1st ed. p. 294, etc.; Reuss, *Hist. de la théol.* ii. 557, etc.; Hilgenfeld, p. 41, etc.). Christ has brought in a new law without the yoke of necessity.¹ He became a man and appeared in the flesh, for otherwise we could not see Him and remain uninjured, as one cannot endure to look at the rays of the sun, which is His work, and will be one day no more (chap. v.). He suffered that we might be sanctified by the remission of sins, by the sprinkling of His blood, and by His stripes be healed (chaps. v. 1, vii. 2).² The true temple is the human heart, in which God Himself dwells by the inhabitation of Christ (chaps. vi. iv. xvi.); give good laws to yourselves (chap. xxi.: *ἐαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται ἀγαθοί*). A broken heart is the sacrifice that is well-pleasing to God. It is only circumcision of heart (and ears) that is of value in His sight (ii. iv. ix.);

¹ Chap. ii. 6: Ταῦτα οὖν κατήργησεν, ἵνα ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ᾖν, μὴ ἀνθρωποποίητον ἔχη τὴν προσφορὰν.

² Chap. vii. 2: Ἐγὼ οὖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ᾧν κύριος καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἔπαθεν ἵνα ἡ πληγὴ αὐτοῦ ζωοποιήσῃ ἡμᾶς, πιστεύσωμεν ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἠδύνατο παθεῖν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς.

and the eighth day has taken the place of the Sabbath, a day of gladness on which Jesus rose from the dead (chap. xv.).

With such decision is the newness and independence of Christianity spoken of here, a system taking the place of the old covenant now abolished and of the Mosaic law ; with such incisive sharpness are complete Judaism and Judaizing elements in Christianity combated. The spirit of the Epistle seems to be : " Old things are passed away, behold all is new." The production, with its opposition to the Mosaic law, certainly originated in the sphere of Pauline Christianity, though the form of the Pauline doctrine is less apparent in it than in the view peculiar to the Epistle to the Hebrews.¹

In their doctrinal tendency the Epistles of Ignatius have much similarity to Barnabas' Epistle, to which also the date is near, if their authenticity be assumed. The fundamental bearing of the Epistles is a practical one. They aim at ecclesiastical unity, a subject which we have already glanced at (p. 326, vol. ii.). We confine ourselves at present to what is doctrinal in them.²

¹ It was a correct remark of Ritschl's, *Altkath. Kirche*, 1st ed. p. 244, etc., especially p. 276, comp. p. 243, that the Epistle can only be apprehended as an "evolution of the Pauline principle ;" while Dorner (*ante*, pp. 185, 168, note 22) sees again the Petrine type of doctrine. Schwegeler, ii. p. 240, etc., concedes the fact of "an anti-Ebionite polemic" in the Epistle, but he inclines to look upon that as a "transition of Alexandrian Judaism to gnosis." Comp. Weizsäcker, *Zur Kritik des Barnabasbriefs aus dem Sinaiticus*, 1863, p. 41, etc. But to say that the Epistle contains the Pauline doctrine only in "a weak diluted form," the favourite expressions of Paul as "mere formulæ" (Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 399), is inappropriate. Comp., on the other hand, Engelhardt, *Christenthum Justin's*, p. 381, etc.

² Comp. Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, 1873, pp. 453-490.

On the one hand, Ignatius opposes the docetic view of Christ's person and sufferings (Trall. ix. etc.; Smyrn. ii. etc.); on the other, the Judaistic tendency which had been amalgamated with Docetism in Cerinthus and others. Ignatius declares himself against every mixture of Christian and Jewish elements, a polemic specially found in the letters to the Churches of Magnesia and Philadelphia. In particular he rejects Sabbath-keeping (*σαββατίζειν*) as inconsistent with the Christian life (Magn. xi. 1), and is zealous against the observance of the Mosaic ritual, the *κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ζῆν*, which is in his view an evil leaven that has waxed old and become sour, altogether incompatible with the confession of Jesus as the Christ (*ἄτοπόν ἐστιν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν λαλεῖν καὶ Ἰουδαΐζειν*, Magn. x. 3). This principle he establishes first historically: Christianity did not believe on Judaism, but Judaism on Christianity (same passage); next doctrinally, by observing the Mosaic law we should acknowledge that we have not received grace.¹ This latter assertion has a ring as Pauline as if we had the Epistle to the Galatians before us.

Ignatius, like Barnabas, goes beyond the limits observed by the Apostle Paul by reason of his honest faith in the divinity of the entire old covenant. A tolerably antinomian tendency appears in the letters to the Magnesians and Philadelphians which are occupied with Judaism; all Mosaic institutions are absolutely rejected, and we find but once a word of recognition toward the Mosaic law (Smyrn. v. 1), but only so far as the law and the prophets prophesied of the Redeemer. What is said elsewhere

¹ *Εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι*, Magn. viii. 1.

in recognition of the Old Testament concerns the prophets alone, because they prophesied of, hoped and waited for Christ (Philad. v. 2; Magn. viii. etc.). In another place the author warns: "But if any man preach unto you Judaism, hearken not unto him, for it is better to hear Christianity from one circumcised than Judaism from one uncircumcised.¹ But if both speak not concerning Jesus Christ, then are they in my view tombs and graves on which are written only the names of men" (Philad. vi. 1). The latter remark deserves attention; it lets us know that there were still at that time native and circumcised Israelites in the Church who were acknowledged to be good Christians, with a true Christian confession and life; while, on the other hand, individual Gentile Christians followed the observance of the Mosaic ritual and judaized, though without submitting to circumcision. Hence the latter was a narrow Judaism, corresponding to the principles of the Jewish Christians who had already renounced circumcision as applied to native Gentiles. In accordance with this anti-Jewish character, which insists upon the fundamental separation of Christianity and Judaism, Christianity and Jewish Christianity, on the independence of the Church of Christ, the author puts the Apostle *Paul* very high (Eph. xii. 2), and has him in view in various ways as an example even where he does not name him, using also his Epistles in particular.² In other respects, as to positive doctrinal ideas, we do not find the sharp Pauline conceptions of righteousness by faith in opposition to the righteous-

¹ Ἀμεινόν ἐστιν παρὰ ἀνδρὸς περιτομῶν ἔχοντος Χριστιανισμὸν ἀκούειν, ἢ παρὰ ἀκροβύστου Ἰουδαϊσμὸν, Philad. vi. 1.

² Schwegler, *ante*, ii. p. 161, etc.

ness of works. Upon salvation in Christ alone and exclusively—in Christ the God-man, the Crucified, the Risen—Ignatius insists with steadfastness; but he does not with clearness, purity, and definiteness teach the way of salvation, justification by faith alone;¹ rather does he set faith and love completely on a level, the one “the beginning of life,” the other its “consummation” (Smyrn. vi. 1 : τὸ γὰρ ὅλον ἐστὶ πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη, ὧν οὐδὲν προκέκριται; Eph. xiv.; Trall. viii., and other passages).

In Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, which we consider authentic,² the laudatory mention of the

¹ Philad. viii. 2 : Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρχεῖα ἐστὶν (archives) Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχεῖα ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ· ἐν οἷς θέλω ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν δικαιοσῆσαι.

² The grounds on which Schwegler, *ante*, ii. p. 154, etc., and after him Hilgenfeld, pp. 207, etc., 271, etc., oppose the authenticity of the letter, are by no means valid; for, 1st, The suspicion that the martyrdom of Ignatius is implied in chap. ix., while in chap. xiii. he is still alive, manifestly rests upon the incorrectness of the Latin translation, chap. xiii., see Ritschl, *Alt kath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 585, etc.; Hilgenfeld himself has therefore dropped this idea, p. 209. 2nd, The gnosis opposed by Polycarp does not appear fully developed; at all events the intimations of the Epistle go far less into detail than do those of the Ignatian letters. Hilgenfeld's assertion that this Epistle “presupposes the full development of the Gnostic heresies much more than the Ignatian letters,” is destitute of proof; for even if we grant that all the traits “concern the gnosis of Marcion,” it is not proved that they refer to Marcion alone and not to alleged prior errors as well, e.g. those of Cerinthus, who, as is well known, denied the appearance of Christ in the flesh and His sufferings. Even Schwegler's stumbling at *πρωτότοκος τοῦ σατανᾶ*, chap. vii., strongly emphasized by Hilgenfeld, is not dangerous; the expression is so natural an expansion of *υἱὸς διαβόλου*, Acts xiii. 10, comp. 1 John iv. 2, etc., that it might easily arise against a Cerinthus. 3rd, The solidarity of Polycarp's Epistle with those of Ignatius, so that the former falls inevitably under the same condemnation as the latter, being as is alleged nothing but “a companion letter,” “a preface” to the pseudo-Ignatian, is so far from being proved that it is subject to the

Apostle Paul is worthy of notice, who appears as the perfect and incomparable teacher of truth (chap. iii.),¹ comp. ix. 11; praise all the more natural as the Epistle is addressed to a Church founded by Paul. Such honourable recognition corresponds with the true Pauline principle: *χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλὰ θελήματι θεοῦ, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, chap. i. § 3, comp. Eph. ii. 8, etc., and with the statement in chap. iii. § 3, that hope follows faith but is preceded by love, *i.e.* love is rooted in faith. We find Pauline

gravest doubt. For it is very questionable whether the Ignatian Epistles with which we are familiar are meant by the word *ἐπιστολαί*, chap. xiii.; Hilgenfeld himself has not been able to get rid of every doubt on the point, p. 120. Polycarp's Epistle is also separated by a more temperate attitude, by the absence of opposition to Judaism, but chiefly by the old simple Church order implied,—an arrangement unknown to the Ignatian distinction between bishop and elders,—it is so emphatically separated from the Ignatian Epistles that its independence is clear enough to every impartial reader. In addition to this, the weight of Irenæus' testimony (iii. 3, § 4) in favour of the letter, both men being personally acquainted and in part contemporary, cannot be easily lessened or set aside. We abide firmly by the authenticity of the Epistle, which has been accepted by most since the time of le Nourry; in our days particularly by Neander, Gieseler, Hefele, Dorner (*ante*, p. 171, etc., note), Uhlhorn, *Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.* 1851, p. 276, etc.; Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochia*, 1873, p. 492, etc. Against Ritschl, who allows the authenticity but disputes the integrity, and conjectures the existence of several interpolations from the hand that partly interpolated and partly composed the Ignatian letters (*Altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 538, etc.), we remark that his examination rests on an insecure foundation. He requires a strict connection both in a logical and æsthetic point of view, and conjectures that there is interpolation wherever this is wanting; whereas precision and skilful arrangement do not appear in Polycarp's way. Comp. Zahn, *ante*, p. 494.

¹ Chap. iii. 2: *Οὗτε γὰρ ἐγὼ, οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθεῖν σοφία τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου· ὃς γενόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν, κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδαξεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ βεβαίως τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον· ὃς καὶ ἅπων ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς, εἰς ἃς ἂν ἐγκύπτησι, δυναθήσθεσθε οἰκοδομεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν.*

expressions occurring elsewhere. But Polycarp does not abide by Paul exclusively. In the testimonies against docetism there are unmistakable Johannine assurances;¹ and in other places Petrine citations, *e.g.* in the exhortation to fear God, "believing on Him who raised our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead," ii. 1; comp. 1 Pet. i. 21. All this, taken along with the prevailing practical object of the Epistle, leads to the opinion that Polycarp, who was certainly not distinguished by richness and originality of ideas, whose nature was reproductive rather than solid, apprehended and expressed Christian truth with chief regard to the *unity* of the apostolic teaching which had been handed down.

The "Shepherd of Hermas," a production presumably having for its author the Hermas mentioned in Rom. xvi. 14, but which does not belong to him, having been composed in the first third of the second century,² certainly departs very strongly from the Pauline system, redemption by the death of Jesus being scarcely mentioned except in one place.³ The name of Jesus also never occurs in the whole book,

¹ Chap. vii. : "Ὁς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν ; comp. 1 John iv. 3.

² Comp. Lücke, *Versuch einer rollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*, 2nd ed. p. 337, etc.; Schwegler, *ante*, i. 328, etc.; Dorner, *Lehre von der Person Christi*, i. 185, etc., note 38; Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 288; Hilgenfeld, *Ap. Väter*, p. 127, etc.; Zahn, *Hirt des Hermas*, 1868; Engelhardt, *Christenthum Justin's*, 1878, p. 410, etc. We owe the original Greek text, instead of the unsatisfactory Latin translation, partly to Simonides, ed. Anger and Dindorf, 1856, partly to Tischendorf and the Sinaitic MS. of the Bible, which after Barnabas contains "the Shepherd" also, or at least a good part of it.

³ Simil. v. 6, § 2 : Αὐτὸς (ὁ υἱὸς) τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἐκαθάρισε πολλὰ ποσιάσας καὶ πολλοὺς κόπους ἠντληκώς.

the chief weight being laid upon the law brought in by Christ. Thus the prevailing standpoint is legal to such a degree and in such a way as to pass over entirely into the unevangelical region; for not only is one's own righteousness far overvalued, but even a superfluous merit is attached to the pious,¹ and the doing away of sin by martyrdom is inculcated. It is, however, a monstrous exaggeration on the part of Schwegler when he asserts: "The spirit of *Jewish* legality and righteousness by works is so prevalent in this writing, what is peculiarly Christian particularly in its Pauline aspect recedes so much into the background, that but a few passages would have to be effaced to make the whole book appear a production belonging to pre-Christian Judaism" (*ante*, i. 333, etc.). For such purpose we should rather have to strike out whole sections treating of the Son of God and the Church, of Christian Church order, etc.; in particular, we should be obliged to cancel all that is said of the deity of Christ. Besides, "the law of Christ" (see Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 288, etc.) is not declared to be identical with the Mosaic, neither does Hermas inculcate duties specifically Jewish Christian, *e.g.* circumcision for the Jews or the proselyte laws for native Gentiles; and nothing specially Jewish lies in the asceticism required by the Shepherd. Inasmuch as circumcision is not made a condition of salvation, not even being once named, whereas on the contrary the righteous of the

¹ Simil. v. 3, § 2: Τὰς ἐντολάς [τοῦ κυρίου] φύλασσε καὶ ἰση εὐαρίστης τῆ θεῶ.—§ 3: Ἐὰν δέ τι ἀγαθὸν ποιήσης ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, σιαυτῶ περιποιήσῃ ἄξιον περισσοτέρων. καὶ ἰση ἠδωχότερος παρὰ τῶ θεῶ οὗ ἔμελλε εἶναι. Lipsius justly remarks, "The view of supererogatory merit is usual in Hermas." *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.* 1866, p. 49, etc.

old covenant must be baptized (in the under-world) that they may be able to enter into the kingdom of God (Simil. ix. 16; Vis. iii. 3, 5); inasmuch as there is no trace of opposition to the Apostle Paul, who is never mentioned; still further, inasmuch as no Levitical or peculiarly Mosaic enactments are recommended,—there is no ground whatever for attributing to the work a “decidedly Judaistic character,” as Hilgenfeld still does, *App. Väter*, p. 174. It can only be asserted with reason that the work has a Jewish Christian colouring because of its ethics (in which its chief contents lie) setting out with the conception of law, “the commandments of the Lord;” without giving due prominence to the distinction existing between Christianity and the old covenant. It is true that repentance is preached; but Christian faith as the root of a new life is not brought out or set forth with emphasis.¹

B. THE APOLOGISTS.

Between the writings of the apostolic Fathers and the works of the great Church teachers standing on the line that separates the second and third centuries, the apologists occupy a middle position not merely in point of time but in fact, inasmuch as they form a transition series. The most conspicuous among them is unquestionably *Justin the Martyr*. The following brief remarks will show the standpoint of this Church teacher who was a converted heathen, a Christian

¹ Comp. Uhlhorn, “Ueber die ethischen Anschauungen des Hermas,” in *Monatsschrift für Theol. u. Kirche*, by Lücke and Wieseler, 1850, pp. 226, etc., 271, etc., and the article “Herma” in *Theol. Real-Encyklop.* 2nd ed. 1880, vi. 9, etc., especially 13.

wearing the philosopher's cloak—how he stood in relation to the old and new covenants, to Jewish and Gentile Christianity. In the important dialogue with Tryphon the Jew, which is a justification of Christianity against Judaism, Justin says to the Jew: We believe in one and the same God with you, in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but we do not found our hope on Moses nor on the law; the law of Horeb has been done away by the new, ever valid and eternal law which is Christ Himself, and by the new covenant (chap. ii.); in particular, the ritual law with circumcision and the regulations about meats, with the Sabbath, and festivals, sacrifice, and the temple service has been abolished. As these laws did not exist before Moses in the time of the patriarchs, yet an Abel, Enoch, Noah obtained God's favour without circumcision and sabbatical feasts; and Abraham himself obtained the promise before the introduction of circumcision; these commands should not be valid *now*; the proper spiritual meaning originally lying at the basis of those divine ordinances, their everlasting import (τὰ καθόλου καὶ φύσει καὶ αἰώνια καλὰ), being preserved in Christianity, and not till then becoming truly apparent (xix. xlii. xlv. etc.).

This view obviously rests on a *Pauline* basis, though it is not carried out in a strictly Pauline dogmatic form; for the opposition of the old law and the new comes in place of that between the law and the gospel. Neither is the plan of salvation repre-

¹ *Dial. cum Tryphone*, in Justin M. *Opp.* ed. Otto, ii. 1848, p. 40: 'Ὁ γὰρ ἐν Χωρήθ παλαιὸς ἦν νόμος, καὶ ὑμῶν μόνων, ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀπλῶς νόμος δὲ κατὰ νόμου τεθεῖς τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἔπαυσεν, καὶ διαθήκη μετέπειτα γινομένη τὴν προτέραν ὁμοίως ἔστησεν. Αἰώνιος τε ἡμῖν νόμος καὶ τελευταῖος ὁ Χριστὸς ἐδόθη, etc.

sented in strict accordance with Pauline doctrine; for instead of repentance and faith Justin takes repentance, confession of Christ, and observance of His commandments as the condition of forgiveness (xev.).¹ The dogmatic expression of Paul's mode of thought is defective, but it is not therefore effaced, nor is it exchanged for an opposite one.

Over against the view that makes Justin's doctrinal system belong to Ebionism as a developed phase of it (Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeit.* i. 359, etc.), we mention the central significance which the doctrine of the Logos has in Justin as the divine principle of all truth and revelation; *the whole Logos* (ὁ πᾶς λόγος, *Apol.* ii. 8) has appeared in the person of the God-man; but wherever truth is and was, a partial revelation, a germ (σπέρμα λόγος σπερματικός) of the same Logos existed. Heathen philosophers and legislators, as well as the righteous men and prophets of the old covenant, were partakers of the Logos in fragments: they owed all the knowledge of the truth, all the virtue they possessed to it alone, so that individual heathen as well as Israelites may be called "Christians" because of the Logos.² If Justin traces back all religious truth to Christ as its eternal, only source, and recognises the existence of divine truth and life in heathen soil as well as in the people of Israel, this is a step so decided toward the recognition of the independence and unique authority of Christianity as a new and absolutely complete

¹ Comp. Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 2nd ed. p. 289, etc.

² *Apol.* i. 46: Τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν — λόγον ὄντα, οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε, καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοὶ εἰσι καὶ ἄθροι ἐνομήθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἑλληνισμῷ μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς, ἐν βαρβάροις δὲ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ — Ἡλίας καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, etc., not to mention many other places of similar purport.

revelation of God, showing at the same time a standpoint so high, and comprehending all that is human, that he should have been spared from being labelled as Ebionitic. When Baur (*Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed. p. 140, etc.) infers from the fact that Justin does not recognise Pauline Christianity in express terms, never mentioning the Apostle Paul even by name, that his position with respect to Paulinism and Ebionism is a wavering and undecided one, he has not taken into account that in all his writings Justin has never mentioned by name a single apostle *as such*, and no person in the new covenant except the Lord Himself. How then can such a conclusion be drawn from the above fact? ¹

We here append to Justin the *Epistle to Diognetus* formerly ascribed to him, but a long time since with one accord denied to be his on linguistic and other grounds, belonging to the middle of the second century, and consequently to Justin's time.² This

¹ Comp. Engelhardt's *Christenthum Justin's*, p. 330, etc.

² After Donaldson (*Critical History*, ii. 126) conjectured, as we learn from Harnack's *Patres Apost.* i. 212, note 5, 1866, though the conjecture is put forth with much reserve, that the Epistle was written by a Greek who had wandered into Italy, after the fall of Constantinople, in the fifteenth century, Overbeck endeavoured in his Basel programme of 1872, "Ueber den Pseudojustinischen Brief an Diognet.," with great confidence to make good the assertion that the letter is a fiction of the post-Constantine time, palmed off in imitation of the old ecclesiastical apologies as a writing supposed to be addressed to Diognetus, the teacher of Marcus Aurelius. This hypothesis has been contradicted by Hilgenfeld, Keim, Lipsius, Gass, Semisch. A word in its favour, but with limitations, was published by Zahn and Harnack, *Patres Apost.* 1875. i. 212, etc. It rests on nothing more than conjecture that the person addressed is identical with the emperor's preceptor, and that the forger palmed the work upon Justin Martyr. The latter point is founded exclusively on the futile circumstance that the

production, one of the finest in contents and form which we have received from the first centuries,— a “patristic jewel,”¹—is distinguished among other things by the position it takes over against Judaism.

The unknown author unfolding to Diognetus, a distinguished heathen, the peculiar piety of Christians, separates it from Judaism as sharply as he does from heathenism;² and after showing the folly of heathen idolatry (chap. ii.) states that the Jewish worship also was not a rational one; for though the Jews pray to the one God, they are wanting in the manner of their adoration, because like the heathen they serve God with sacrifices as if He needed them (chap. iii.), with abstinence from certain kinds of food, with a superstitious observance of the Sabbath, with circumcision, on which they prided themselves; also with the letter was bound up with several works erroneously ascribed to Justin in a Strassburg MS. now burnt; while the contents do not betray by a single word any design of representing Justin as the author. On the other hand, the Epistle has more than one expression and indication that exclude its composition after the time of Constantine the Great; for example, the hatred and persecution of the Christians (chap. v. etc.) appear to be things belonging to the time of the writer. Besides, the expectation of the Redeemer's impending advent to judgment appears in a vivid way, which could scarcely exist after Constantine (comp. chap. vii. 6). Overbeck's remark, approved by Harnack, *ante*, p. 214, note 11, that the Christology is more developed than Justin's, rests on the reading in ix. 1: *σὺν τῷ παιδί οἰκονομικῶς*, rejected by Harnack himself, and changed into *οἰκονομηκῶς*. But this is to make the whole admonition vanish, for the expression *πάντα—οἰκονομῶν* has a simple plain sense in conformity with familiar Greek usage, while the adverb *οἰκονομικῶς* seems to belong to the developed theological language connected with the Trinity.

¹ Bunsen, *Hippolytus und seine Zeit*, i. 138.

² Chap. i. : *Οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογίζονται, οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουν.* Comp. chap. iv. 6 : *Τῆς μὲν οὖν κοινῆς εἰκαίστητος καὶ ἀπάτης, καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων πολυπραγμασύνης καὶ ἀλαζονείας ὡς ὀρθῶς ἀπέχονται Χριστιανοί.*

observance of fasts and new moons (chap. iv.).¹ The author uses strong language, throwing in with relation to these things the words: ἀσεβές, χλευής ἄξιον, καταγέλαστον, ἀφροσύνη, μωρία. It is plain from various traits with which his Hellenic culture harmonizes, that the author was a Gentile Christian living in a circle in which, with the exception of Gentile Christians that would know nothing of the Mosaic law, there were none but heathens and unbelieving Jews, no Jewish Christians; and in the midst of persecutions which had hitherto come not merely from the heathen but also from the Jews.² These persecutions must have contributed to the ever-widening and rugged breach between Jews and Christians. With this agrees the positive doctrine of the Epistle, which goes back unmistakably to Paul and John, especially in viewing Christ as the incarnate world-creating Logos (αὐτὸς ὁ τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων, vii. § 2), who interceded for us that we might be reconciled and justified through Him.³

Thus we find in the writings of the apostolic

¹ Chap. iv. 1: Τό γε περὶ τὰς βρώσεις αὐτῶν ψοφοδῖες, καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ σάββατα δεισιδαιμονίαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλαζονίαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς νηστίας καὶ νομηνίας εἰρωνίαν, καταγέλαστα καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια λόγου, etc.

² In chap. v. 17 it is said of Christians: ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ὡς ἀλλόφυλοι πολεμοῦνται ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων διώκονται. Thus we read in the history of the martyr-death of Polycarp, that when the command was given to burn him alive, and the people brought wood for the purpose, the Jews were those who, ὡς ἕως αὐτῶν, showed special zeal in the affair, *Martyrium Polycarpi*, chap. xiii., in Dressel, *Patres Apost.* p. 400.

³ Ἴνα ἀνομία μὲν πολλῶν ἐν δικαίῳ ἐνὶ κρυβῆ, δικαιοσύνη δὲ ἐνὸς πολλοῦς ἀνόμους δικαιοῶσῃ, chap. ix. 5. — It deserves mention that Schwegler has completely passed over the Epistle to Diognetus with the

Fathers as well as the other productions of the second century preceding the anti-Gnostic Church teachers, with the single exception of the pseudo-Clementines, neither a Judaistic tendency nor a mediating arrangement between Pauline and Ebionitic parties, but sometimes a decided anti-Jewish mode of thought (in Barnabas, Clement II., Justin, and the Epistle to Diognetus); sometimes a standpoint which allows the Pauline doctrinal ground to be seen, connecting with it at the same time the fundamental ideas contained in other apostolic writings, so that the personal authority of Paul without opposition to Peter is acknowledged, though with some deviation from the precise Pauline form (Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp). Even in a production farthest removed from the primitive and powerful freshness, from the evangelical freedom, the humble, believing, forcible spirit of the Gentile apostle, like the Shepherd of Hermas, there appears neither aught that is anti-Pauline nor anything Judaistic, notwithstanding all the legality and sanctity of works to which the book leans. It is true that we cannot but see in the post-apostolic age a strong propensity to deviate from the full, pure apostolic doctrine especially Paul's; nor is it an obscure fact that the gospel of God's free grace in Christ the only Saviour, and of justification by faith, was gradually supplanted, and that a spirit of legality and self-righteousness began to spring up on

exception of two remarks with which it is briefly dismissed (*Nachapost Zeitalter*, ii. 35, 240); while he brings out with great zeal the smallest fragments if they appear favourable to his Ebionite hypothesis. But the Epistle has its rights; why does he not adapt it to his system? The promise is made at first that "existing historical materials will be organically incorporated within the fundamental lines which are traced" (*ante*, i. 1).

Christian soil ; in short, that the current was driving on to Catholicism. But we can discover nothing of a prevailing Ebionism in the Gentile Christian Church in the post-apostolic age, nothing of a contest between a Pauline and a Petrine party, between Paulinism and Ebionism, which, as is said, ran through the whole of the second century, nor anything of mutual approach and compromising mediation brought about gradually. We have been able to find nothing of an arrangement effected at last. We may touch still further on one point only. The development of Christian dogma entered upon a course essentially anti-Jewish with respect to the doctrine of the Logos, into which as a central point all the strength of the Church was soon put. Now it is admitted that the doctrine of Christ's person necessarily proceeds hand in hand with the Christian standpoint, so that the lower the view taken of Christianity, its historical lateness and authority, the lower is also the view formed of Christ's person, and *vice versa*. Accordingly the opposition to a really Ebionite mode of thinking was concentrated, in the course of the post-apostolic age, in the doctrinal development of the Logos-idea.¹ Another antithesis took possession of minds during the whole of the second century — that between heretical gnosis and Christian truth.

C. THE GNOSTIC SECTS.

In this place we do not propose to institute a comprehensive discussion of Gnosticism and its individual systems, but only to look at its historical appearance as a whole with reference to the contrasts

¹ Comp. Schwegler, *ante*, ii. 271.

between Jewish and Gentile Christianity, Ebionism and Paulinism. But we cannot entirely overlook the question regarding the point of time or period when heretical gnosis began. We have already presupposed in various ways that its germs began to stir even in the apostolic time; and we add here that the Gnostic sects came forth openly at the beginning of the second century, according to historical testimony. The oft-quoted and perhaps misunderstood fragment of Hegesippus (ap. Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 32, § 7, iv. 22, § 4) says plainly, first, that at the time when some apostles were still living, before the reign of Trajan who ascended the imperial throne A.D. 98, the Church was still a pure virgin and not disfigured by sects, errorists hiding themselves in dark lurking holes; second, when no apostle or any one else who had heard Jesus was alive, teachers of error appeared without fear and openly (*γυμνῇ κεφαλῇ*) with their preaching of *ψευδώνυμος γνώσις*. As John and the last eye- and ear-witnesses of Jesus could not in any case have lived longer than into the first years of the second century, this testimony leads to the assumption that the public appearance of the Gnostic sects coincides with the beginning of that century. And as it is self-evident that a mental movement so important and penetrating does not come definite and finished at once but is gradually developed, the initiatory stages of it took place some decades at least before. Such preliminary stage is formed, for example, by Cerinthus, the gnosticizing Ebionite, who belongs even to the later apostolic period, and was the Apostle John's contemporary. It is also admitted that Basilides taught about the year 125 at the

latest. Still further, since Valentine as well as Marcion came to Rome about 140, their systems seem to have been fully developed at the time. But we know several Gnostic heresies, *e.g.* those of the Ophitæ, Peratæ, etc., of which it may be assumed, partly because of their less developed material, partly because they were not yet called after a personal head, that they were older and more original than the former. Hence we are carried back from them to the threshold of the second century at least, if not farther. Lastly, we learn from various primitive documents the bias of that "age of religious turning" to theosophy, to a philosophizing process of uniting (*Ineinsbildung*), or the mixing of the old religions. We know the Hellenic-Oriental and the Jewish-Hellenistic circle of doctrine that arose therefrom.¹ If, then, the incarnation of God and the new power of the gospel penetrated this fermentation, an excited activity must have arisen (since faith and the simple, humble appropriation of saving truth "does not belong to everybody"), in order to manufacture all ideas belonging to past and present. This did not originate in the second century; it began as early as the second half of the first. The Alexandrian philosophy of religion, of which Gnosticism is in essence nothing but a development, a variety (Baur, *Christenthum*, 1st ed. p. 166, etc.;

¹ Comp. Lutterbeck, *Die neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe oder Untersuchungen über das Zeitalter der Religionswende, die Vorstufen des Christenthums und die erste Gestaltung desselben*, Mainz 1852, 2 vols., a work of great learning, of instructive views, and of an impartiality often remarkable in a Catholic theologian. It is a pity that the inspired man has the critical gift no longer, else the results of solid and unbiassed inquiries would be more apparent in many directions.

Lutterbeck, i. p. 319), had its flourishing period before the middle of the first century. If the remark be fully deserving of assent, that the original basis of the Ophite system is pre-Christian, especially Alexandrian - Jewish, receiving a Christian colouring afterwards (Baur, *Gnosis*, p. 194, etc., note; *Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed. p. 195), all the more natural is the assumption that this system, as well as many similar to it, had already begun to unfold in the course of the first century.

In defining the *nature* of Gnosticism, we distinguish between its formal and real principle, the former of which is designated by the name *γνώσις*. The formal nature of heretical gnosis is a higher, apprehensive knowledge, in contrast with faith which is placed on a lower step—the claim at least to such knowledge. In fact, its one-sided interest in knowing, its partially presumptuous pride of perceiving, its intellectual self-satisfaction,¹ its genuine, antique, heathenish aristocracy of knowledge, its intellectualism, which volatilizes everything into ideas, is patent to observation. The means used for an alleged perfect apprehension was allegorical interpretation, by which the Gnostics were able to metamorphose into their ideas and convert into the formation of their systems all history, all biblical truth, even everything taken from the heathen stories of gods and from natural science; comp. Baur, *Christenthum*,

¹ Irenæus (i. 21, 4th ed.; Stieren, i. 232) adduces explanations of unknown Gnostics, according to which redemption consists entirely in Gnostic knowledge: Εἶναι τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ ἀρρήτου μεγέθους. Ἵπ' ἀγνοίας γὰρ ὑστερήματος καὶ πάθους γιγνόμετων, διὰ γνώσεως καταλύεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοίας σύστασιν ὥστε εἶναι τὴν γνώσιν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου—καὶ ταύτην εἶναι λύτρωσιν ἀγθεῖ.

2nd ed. p. 79, etc. The *real* principle of heretical gnosis, the essence of its contents, is the totality of world-religion and world-development taken as the history of divine revelation, but—and here is the error—with a putting back of the Christian element to the pre-Christian. The latter is exemplified by Marcion himself, notwithstanding the great prominence he gives to Christianity in its absolute newness and perfection, over against both Judaism and heathenism; for what else is his dualism but the relapse into heathen modes of thought? The same is the case in the pseudo-Clementine system, Christianity being apprehended as purified and enlarged Judaism. And it is admitted that the Christian element with Valentine and Basilides is resolved very much into the religion of nature. It may be mentioned here that Gnosticism is neither of heathen-Christian nor of Jewish-Christian origin exclusively; nor is it solely of Pauline or Ebionite birth. History shows that the way to heretical gnosis stood open on both sides; the Jewish-Christian Cerinthus could become a Gnostic as well as Carpocrates. Ebionism, hostile to Paul, (the pseudo-Clementines), developed a Gnostic system as well as the ultra-Pauline Marcion. Even here it is shown that the national and confessional contrariety is already pressed into the background by the more violent contrarieties which were then stirring history and splitting up Christianity. Turning away from the pseudo-Clementine system which we touched upon before, we remark still further; since the Gnostic view of all religious history and world-development as a divine revelation commits the fundamental mistake of twisting back the Christian element into the

pre-Christian, especially on the standpoint of heathen nature-religion and philosophy, several errors of considerable magnitude that overthrow the biblical ground were planted. First, Pantheism, the deification of the world, the essence of nature-religion consisting in the mixing together of God and the world, in deifying nature, in taking God for nature. This feature, the abolition of the supernatural (in God, in Christ), is apparent in all developed systems of heretical gnosis. Heathen *polytheism* is also reflected in the Gnostic systems; for what else are the so-called æons with their development than god-forms and god-history (theogony) in nature-religions, preserved in personified ideas of divine qualities, active laws, etc. Thirdly, a fundamental feature in Gnostic systems is their *dualism* between the highest God and the creator of the world (demiurge), the God of the Christians and the God of the Jews, spirit and matter, a twofold human race, a dualism which has deeply penetrating practical consequences, inasmuch as it brings with it in the field of doctrine docetism with a denial of the resurrection of the body; in ethics, an asceticism that mortifies the body, the rejection of marriage as a demoniacal institution, etc.; or a pronounced antinomianism, a flagrant moral latitudinarianism, inasmuch as the opposites touch and pass over into one another. This dualistic feature, which occupies the foreground in the Syrian Gnostics, Saturnin and Bardesanes, and next in Marcion, while it is not wanting in Valentine and others, rests none the less on soil that lies at the basis of heathen religions. Lastly, in the fourth place, because the heathenism which runs into Christianity in the way of Gnosticism is a religion

of nature, it appropriates to the Gnostics a mode of thought which is pre-eminently physical instead of moral or religious; since redemption becomes a nature-process (*φύσει σώζεσθαι*), there is among mankind a race that must be blessed (a *φύσει σωζόμενον γένος*), freedom is perverted into necessity, the moral element of all religions is misapprehended, the moral judgment dislocated.

In opposition to this dangerous and fundamentally destructive doctrine, which contains errors all the more powerful in proportion to the truth mixed up with it, the Church's task was to save the truth of the gospel, and to hold aloft the banner of genuine apostolic doctrine. To this service the three Fathers of the Church who usher in the new old-Catholic age, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, devoted themselves above all others. The problem was not only to refute the errors logically, but chiefly to place the full light of positive truth upon the candlestick that it might give light to all that are in the house. On this account the *formal principle of faith* must above all be made good over against the Gnostic formal principle of one-sided, self-satisfied knowledge; the authority of *pistis* held out against gnosis. This procedure led to insistence upon Scripture (rightly understood and simply interpreted), together with apostolic tradition; and in connection with it preservation of the fundamental facts in the history of salvation, and that in a realistic way in opposition to the allegorizing idealism which volatilized into mere ideas the positive historical kernel of Christianity.¹

¹ The realistic standpoint is taken by Irenæus in his polemic against the Gnostics; comp. the instructive little book of Duncker, *Des heiligen Irenæus Christologie*, 1843, especially p. 10, etc., as

Accordingly, in regard to the *main substance* of heretical Gnosticism and the smuggling of heathenism into the holy place, the work of the Church champions was to drive from the field, by means of the biblical recognition of a supramundane God and creator, all pantheistic deification of created things, and to set over against dualism the victorious truth of the one God the Father of Jesus Christ, who created the corporeal world as well as spirits, and has already revealed Himself in the law and old covenant—even in heathen Hellenic philosophy—and not in the gospel alone.¹ In opposition to docetism this was united with the assertion of the real humanity of Christ, His actual death on the cross as the kernel of the gospel, and the resurrection of the body.² In

well as the treatise of H. Ziegler, *Joachimsthal. Gymn.-Programm*, 1868, *Des Irenæus Lehre von der Autorität der Schrift, der Tradition und der Kirche*, especially pp. 15, etc., 22, etc.

¹ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, vi. 5, ed. Migne, vol. ii. 261 : Νέαν (διαθήκην) ἡμῖν διίθετο (ὁ θεὸς) τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων παλαιὰ, ἡμῖς δὲ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γένει σιβόμενοι, Χριστιανοί.—ὁ αὐτὸς θεὸς ἅμφοιν ταῖν διαθήκαιν χορηγός, ὁ καὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας δαπτήρ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, δι' ἧς ὁ παντοκράτωρ παρ' Ἑλλήσι δοξάζεται, παρίστησι. Vol. i. 921, lib. i. 27 : ἐνὸς κυρίου ἐνέργεια, ὅς ἐστι "δύναμις καὶ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ," ὁ τε νόμος τὸ τε εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ ὃν ἐγέννησε φόβον ὁ νόμος, ἐλιήμων οὗτος εἰς σωτηρίαν.—ii. 23, towards the end, Migne, vol. i. 1096 : Οὐ δὴ μάχεται τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὁ νόμος, συναδίδει δὲ αὐτῷ· Πῶς γὰρ οὐχί, ἐνὸς ὄντος ἅμφοιν χορηγοῦ τοῦ κυρίου; iii. 12, vol. i. 1184 : Εἰ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς νομοθέτης ἅμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστής, οὐ μάχεται ἑαυτῷ· ζῆ γὰρ ὁ νόμος πνευματικὸς ὢν καὶ γνωστικῶς νοούμενος. No one ever combated the dualism of Marcion more perseveringly and ably than Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*.

² Here Tertullian is a master. With a true Pauline spirit does he enter the lists against docetism, when he testifies, *e.g. Adv. Marcionem*, iii. chap. 5, ed. Oehler, ii. 132 : Totum christiani nominis et pondus et fructus, mors Christi negatur, quam tam impresse apostolus mandat utique veram, summum eam fundamentum evangelii constituens, et salutis nostræ et prædicationis suæ. And

opposition to the perverted view which refers back everything to the processes of nature, compelling all under the yoke of a natural necessity, the Church Fathers, especially Clement of Alexandria, defended human freedom, maintained the moral, and with it the truly religious character of Christianity with power and spirit, established the personality of God, of the Redeemer and of man, preserving its purity and sanctity to Christian ethics. These great Church teachers, who defended with heroism and fidelity the treasures of the Church, the priceless grace of God in Christ Jesus the God-man, against the errors of their time, had the everlasting promise, "him that honoureth me will I also honour." As they were true keepers of what was entrusted to them and the Church of their day, the Lord gave them fulness of gifts; for it is astonishing to see what sparks of real light dart forth when they strike with the sword of the spirit in waging the wars of their Lord; astonishing to see the way in which they overthrow errors with surpassing ability—errors with which a wisdom made foolishness in much later times has ventured to oppose the word of God afresh! Truly must the Church of Christ put closely together all the forces and means it has, concentrating itself spiritually and morally in order to vanquish error. Union gives strength; and nothing but a united army can hope for victory. Accordingly, there was then, towards the end of the second

how faithfully does he preserve the sound spirit of the Bible in holding fast the unity of man's nature consisting in soul and body when he asks (*ante*, i. chap. 24, ii. 76): *Quid erat perfectæ bonitatis, quam totum hominem redigere in salutem. Totum damnatum a creatore, totum a Deo optimo allectum?* etc.

century, a powerful impulse in the direction of unity. It was the time in which the Church shaped itself with knowledge and will as a comprehensive whole (*ἐκκλησία καθολική*), both *ideally* in doctrine and *really* in worship and constitution. To this unity belongs pre-eminently that unity of doctrine which was formulated in the rule of faith (*regula fidei*), in face of the dismemberment into Gnostic and other sects. There was another requisite, viz. to put all the springs of religious knowledge in one well-room, as it were; for which reason they set out with the work of positively attesting and definitely proving the unity of tradition and Scripture, the unity of the Old and New Testaments, the unity of doctrine belonging to the different apostles and apostolic writings, a unity which had been before presupposed for the most part unconsciously.¹ That was a necessary and right procedure, but one that did not avoid the mistake of laying overmuch weight upon unity, and putting ecclesiastical tradition above Scripture, so that evangelical truth and the genuine doctrine of the apostles was endangered.

By careful searching through apostolic and post-

¹ With respect to the unity of Scripture and tradition, comp. Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 1. 1: Non per alios dispositionem salutis nostræ cognovimus, quam per eos per quos evangelium pervenit ad nos; quod quidem tunc præconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum. Comp. Ziegler, *Des Irenæus Lehre von der Autorität der Schrift, der Tradition und der Kirche*, Berlin 1868, 4to, p. 28, etc. The union of the apostles among themselves is attested by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, vii. 17: Μία ἡ πάντων γέγονε τῶν ἀποστόλων ὡς περ διδασκαλία οὕτω δὲ καὶ παράδοσις. In this view the apostles were then defended against the reproach raised against them by the Gnostics that they were not agreed among themselves. See e.g. Tertullian, *De præscriptione Hæreticorum*, c. 23.

apostolic times, we have obtained a result which in our opinion is historically well founded, and also corresponds with the authority of the gospel. In the apostolic period, comparing the earliest preaching of the apostles with the later Epistles, we found by putting the doctrine of the Apostle Paul with that of a James, a Peter, a John, different stages of Christian apprehension, manifold types with individual forms of doctrine, but in no case irreconcilable contradictions. We keep to the original sources, the New Testament writings, without allowing ourselves to be led astray by unsatisfactory reasons for doubting the authenticity or historical credibility of the most important of such writings. If we use them impartially and comprehensively, we can neither see in Paul an assailant of the law, nor in the other apostles men so far removed from the genuine and pure gospel as many represent them. On the contrary, the New Testament gives a picture of the Apostle Paul in which were united with all freedom height and width of spirit, an inward constant love for his own people, and personally a most pious attachment to the law. We perceive also that the other apostles, whose sphere of action was originally confined to Israel, preached with all enthusiasm and self-renunciation Jesus the Crucified and Risen One, not only as the Messiah for His people, but also as the one foundation of salvation for humanity. But since there is in Christ's Church in point of fact a "communion of saints," the illumination vouchsafed to a Paul through God's grace, by means of which he saw the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ more clearly, was also communicated to those who were apostles before him, so that they too

grew up by this means in all things into Christ who is the head.

It is true that remarkable and deep differences appeared in the Churches which the apostles of the circumcision gathered from among the Jews, and Paul mostly from among the heathen, so much so that the two groups in Christendom sometimes came into collision. But that did not prevent the result of an actual communion being established and promoted between Jewish Christian and Gentile Christian Churches—not merely an external, but an internal communion, a blending and welding consociation.

After the decease of the majority of the apostles the contrariety between Jewish and Gentile Christian Churches continued, but only as a vanishing thing, since the Jewish Christian community, subordinate in numbers, went over bodily into the Gentile Christian community, partly under the overpowering influence of external events such as the destruction of Jerusalem, partly moved by internal forces such as the after effects of the Pauline spirit. Hence Jewish Christian Churches could not prolong their existence except in single and isolated districts. The portion of Jewish Christians who adhered to Mosaism as the main thing, regarding Christianity as essentially secondary, were reduced to the level of a sect by the progress of history and pressed out of the Church so that they passed over at last into Judaism itself. But it is an unhistorical representation which makes a struggle between the Pauline and Ebionite spirit run right through the second century; and the attainment of unity to have come about by mutual concessions. On the contrary, the primitive documents of that period present the narrow Judaistic standpoint

as a thing already overpowered; whereas the results for which Paul wrestled, though they were not always apprehended purely and precisely, lie at the basis of ecclesiastical life in all its forms. In this historical progression we do not recognise the play of human caprice, but the disposing influence of the Lord Jesus Christ who rules His Church until all his enemies are made the footstool of His feet.

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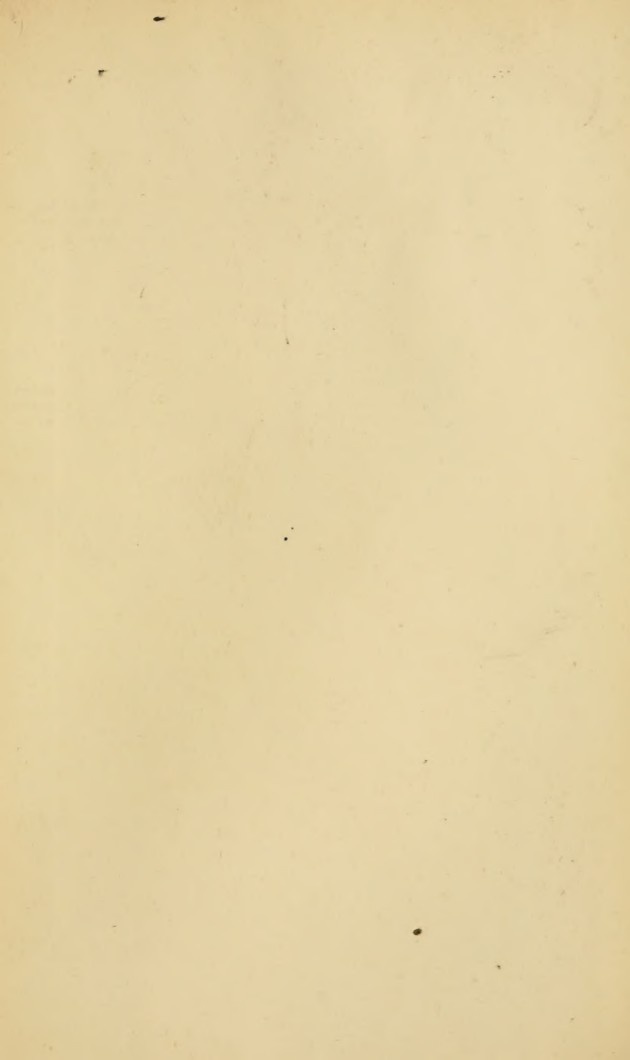
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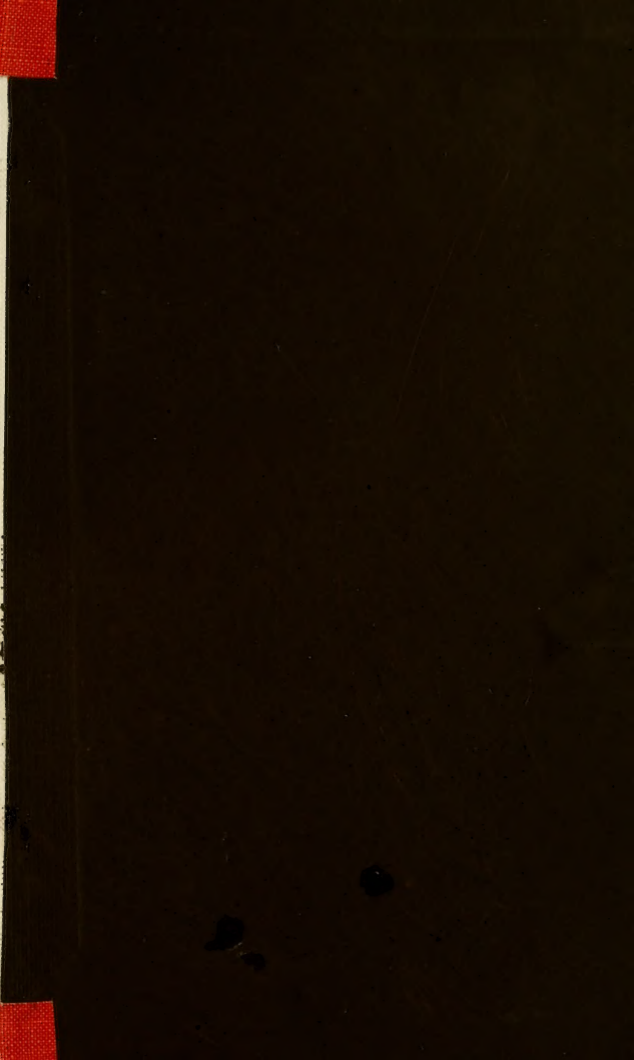
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